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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO 1839.

BY

THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF GREECE," "HISTORY OF ROME," "OUTLINES OF HISTORY," &c.

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THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF STUART,

CONTINUED.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1644–1647.

Self-denying Ordinance and New Model.—Trial and Execution of Laud.—Religious Parties.—Treaty at Uxbridge.—Victories of Montrose.—Battle of Naseby.—Progress and Defeat of Montrose.—Glamorgan's Mission.—Charles's Flight to the Scots; Negotiations; Surrender of him to the Parliament.—End of the War.

THE late successes of the king were attributed to the want of harmony among the parliamentary generals. Waller had been, from the first, a rival of Essex, and Manchester and Cromwell, his second in command, had opposite views and feelings. The religious differences of Presbyterian and Independent had now extended to the army also: Cromwell was at the head of the latter party, and Manchester and Waller belonged to the former, while Essex preferred the Episcopal church. Farther, both he and Manchester wished to preserve the existing constitution in the state, while Cromwell desired a republic. It was therefore suspected, and not without reason, that neither of these noblemen was inclined to weaken the king too much.

The affair of Donnington Castle brought these conflicting parties, who had been for some time menacing each other, to issue. Cromwell, when called on in the house of commons to state what he knew of it, accused Manchester of aversion to terminate the war by the sword, and of thinking the king now reduced low enough for a peace to be made. The next day Manchester took notice of this in the lords, and, at his desire, a day being fixed for the purpose, he gave his account of the Donnington affair, laying the chief blame on Cromwell. He also mentioned some remarks made by Cromwell, showing him to be hostile to the peerage, and to the friendly relations between England and Scotland: such as observing that it would never be well with England till the Earl of Manchester were plain Mr. Montague; that the Scots had crossed the Tweed only to establish Presbytery; and that in that cause he would as soon fight against them as the king. He added, that it was Cromwell's design to form an army of sectaries, who might dictate to both king and parliament.

The commons appointed a committee to inquire if this accusation of one of their members in the other house were not a breach of privilege. In the mean time, some of the Presbyterian party and the Scottish commissioners met at Essex House, and, sending for the two lawyers, Whitelock and Maynard, took their advice on the subject of accusing Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations. The lawyers, however, being of opinion that the evidence was not sufficient, the plan was abandoned.

On the 9th of December, the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider the condition of the kingdom in regard to the war. After a long silence, Cromwell rose and recommended that, instead of an inquiry, they should devise some general remedy for the existing evils. The next speaker declared that the fault lay in the commands being divided. A third proposed that no member of either house should hold any civil or military office during the war. This was supported by Vane, and opposed

by Whitelock, Hollis, and others. An ordinance to this effect, however, passed the commons on the 21st, a vain attempt having been made to have the Earl of Essex excepted. In the lords it met with much opposition: for, as they justly objected, it would exclude their entire order from all offices of trust and honour. They accordingly, on the 13th of January, 1645, rejected it.

Another project going on at the same time was the new modelling of the army. On the 21st, the appointment of the principal officers took place in the commons. Sir Thomas Fairfax was declared commander-in-chief, Skippon major-general, and twenty-four colonels were appointed: but nothing was said as to the post of lieutenant-general. The lords assented to these new arrangements on the 15th of February, and an ordinance was then sent up to them similar to the one they had rejected, but requiring only that members should lay down the offices they already held, and being wholly silent as to their reappointment. This "self-denying ordinance," as it was called, was passed on the 3d of April, Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh having given up their commissions the day before.

At this time the trial of Archbishop Laud, which had been going on for nearly a year, was brought to its close. In twenty-four articles of impeachment, the commons accused him of attempting to subvert the rights of parliament and the laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary power; and also "to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the Church of Rome." The trial commenced on the 12th of March, 1644: the managers on the part of the commons were Sergeant Wild and Messrs. Maynard, Brown, Nicholas, and Hill. The primate's inveterate foe, Prynne, was their solicitor, and he certainly showed none of the magnanimity of a generous enemy. He seized all the papers of the accused, even

his diary and his written defence, and hunted out witnesses in all quarters against him.

The archbishop, though refused the aid of counsel, defended himself with spirit and ability. He either justified what he was accused of, or impeached the character of the witnesses, or, in case of there being but one to any fact, denied the legality of his evidence: the law, in cases of treason, requiring two witnesses. When charged with any of the acts of the council, the Star Chamber, or the high commission, his defence was, that he was only one of many, and that the act of the majority was ascribed to the whole. Prynne himself allows that "he made as full, as gallant, and pithy a defence, and spoke as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent." During twenty-one days, in the course of six months, the trial proceeded decidedly to the advantage of the prisoner; and when, on the 11th of October, Mr. Hearne, his counsel, was allowed to speak to the question whether the matters charged against him amounted to treason according to the known laws of the land, the lords were staggered, and the reply of the managers failed to satisfy them. The party in the commons, however, who sought the primate's death, were resolved not to be balked; and a petition of the citizens, numerously signed, was presented on the 28th, by a great number of people, praying for speedy justice against delinquents, and particularly against the archbishop. Forthwith a bill of attainder was introduced: when it had been twice read, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the house of commons to hear the evidence, and nine days were given him to prepare his defence. The very day that his defence was made (the 11th of November), the bill was passed with but one dissentient voice. The lords pronounced him guilty of certain acts, but left it to the judges to determine their character. Their reply was, that by the statute-law they did not amount to treason, but that the house alone was judge of the law of parliament. On Christmas day (which was now a day of "fasting

and public humiliation") the pulpits were set at work; the next morning, a committee was appointed to confer with the lords, and on the 4th of January the archbishop was pronounced guilty of treason by a majority, it is said, of but six members. The only favour the primate could obtain was to have his sentence changed from hanging to beheading. On the 10th, now in the 72d year of his age, he appeared on the scaffold on Tower Hill, with a serene and cheerful air. Taking Heb. xii., 2, for his text, he made a speech in form of a sermon to the people, explaining and justifying his conduct. Laud died with the constancy of a martyr.

This prelate was a narrow-minded, superstitious, hot, and intemperate man, a pigmy Gregory VII. Of his sincerity there can, perhaps, be little doubt: but his measures were childish and mischievous, and he may be justly regarded as one of the principal causes of the evils with which the kingdom was then afflicted. Still his execution was a piece of gratuitous malignity, for he now was utterly powerless, and he had not offended against the established laws of the land. It is gratifying to add, that no respectable advocate of the Long Parliament attempts to justify this piece of wanton barbarity.*

On the 3d of January, exactly a week before they shed the blood of the primate, the parliament had by an ordinance abolished the liturgy of the church, and appointed in its place a "Directory for Public Worship," drawn up by the Assembly of Divines, and approved by the general assembly of Scotland. Of the Assembly of Divines we will now give some account.

By an ordinance of the 12th of June, 1643, when they were looking for aid from the Scots, the parlia-

* "It was done," says Hobbes, "for the entertainment of the Scots." What Ludlow says (i., 72) is to the same effect. "Pour donner *curée* aux Ecossais," are the words of Sabran the French resident. About this time, also, the parliament executed the two Hothams (Jan. 1 and 2), Sir Alexander Carew (Dec. 23), who had engaged to surrender Plymouth to the king, and the Irish rebels Macmahon (Nov. 22) and Macguire (Feb. 20).

ment nominated one hundred and twenty-one divines, who, with ten peers and twenty commoners, and three of the Scottish commissioners, were to examine the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church of England, and give their opinions thereon to one or both houses. The object of the parliament is there declared to be the abolition of the present mode of church government, and the formation of one of "nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad," that is, the establishment of Presbytery. Among those nominated were some prelates and other Episcopalians; but they never gave attendance. There were also about half a dozen members of the party named Independents in the assembly, and among the lay-assessors a few Erastians. These terms require explanation.

The Presbyterian system, which is that of the Church of Scotland, is based on the principle of a parity in rank among its ministers and a participation of the laity in the government of the church. It rejects all peculiar habiliments for the clergy, and has no liturgy. The power of excommunication, censure, etc., it commits to its synods and assemblies. At this time the Presbyterians formed the great majority in the parliament, the assembly, and the city.

The Independents were few in number in the assembly, but they excelled in energy and skill in debate. They held that every congregation of Christians should be *independent* of all others, but with an entire power over its own members. They were, therefore, the strenuous advocates of toleration, and all the minor sects, such as the Anabaptists, the Antinomians, etc., gladly sheltered themselves under their shadow. Their leading divines were Nye, Goodwin, and Burgess. The lords Say and Wharton, Sir Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell, were of their party in the parliament.

While the Church of Rome claimed the universal power of the keys, that is, of excommunication, censure, etc., the Church of England and the Presbyterians demanded it over the whole national church, and

the Independents required it for every particular congregation. A small party, named Erastians (from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century), denied this power altogether. They held that the pastoral office was only persuasive; that all the ordinances of religion were to be free and open to all; that the minister might dissuade the openly vicious from coming to the Lord's supper, for example, and warn them of their danger, but might not refuse it. To the state alone, they said, belonged the punishment of all offences. The advocates of this system in the assembly were Lightfoot, Selden, and Whitelock; and St. John and other eminent men upheld it in the parliament.

The Scots took advantage of their present position to dictate; and they would fain have forced on the English nation their own system of presbytery, pure and unaltered: but the English revolted at this, and some modifications were made. The liturgy was ordered to be laid aside, and a Directory for Public Worship, as we have seen, was substituted for it. It being found, however, that many parishes persisted in using the Book of Common Prayer, an ordinance was passed, on the 23d of August, 1645, imposing a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third, on any one who in a church, chapel, or even private family, should use the prayer-book, and all prayer-books remaining in churches and chapels were ordered to be given up to the committees of counties. So little was the true spirit of toleration then felt by those who, in words, were the uncompromising advocates of the largest liberty.

The parliament also appointed a committee for scandalous ministers, with subordinate committees in the several counties. These were empowered to inquire into the lives and the religious principles of the clergy, and to eject from their livings such as were proved guilty of immorality, of false doctrine, *i. e.*, Arminianism, and such like, or what, perhaps, was a greater offence in the eyes of their judges, malignancy

or attachment to the cause of the king; and those who should refuse to sign the covenant were also to be deprived. The number of the clergy thus ejected was nearly two thousand: the greater part, however, were, we are assured, displaced for immorality, in whose places were substituted men recommended by the parishes and approved of by the assembly of divines. A fifth of the income was appropriated to the support of the families of the ejected ministers. The University of Cambridge also was visited by the Earl of Manchester, and more than one half of the heads and fellows of colleges were expelled for malignancy, and others put in their places.

Meanwhile negotiations for peace had been going on. The king having sent two messages proposing a treaty, on the 20th of November the parliament appointed commissioners to repair to Oxford, but only as the bearers of propositions. After a stay of a few days, they returned on the 29th with the king's reply, simply demanding a safe conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, to come with a definitive answer to their propositions. After some debate this was agreed to; the two noblemen accordingly came; and, after the usual delays, it was finally arranged that commissioners from both sides should meet at Uxbridge, and for the space of twenty days discuss the principal subjects in dispute, namely, religion, the militia, and Ireland, each to be debated for three days in succession.

On the 20th of January the commissioners met at Uxbridge. The royalists were sixteen in number, those of the parliament twelve, besides four Scottish commissioners; and both parties were attended by their divines. After the preliminaries had been arranged, they commenced with the subject of religion. The parliament insisted on the unqualified abolition of episcopacy and the establishment of presbytery in its place. The king, however, would not abandon the former, regarding it as of divine institution: but he was willing to limit it, to reform its abuses, and to grant indulgence to tender consciences in matters of

ceremony. This subject having been debated for three days to no purpose, they next passed to the militia. The parliament demanded that the control over it should be entirely vested in them, and in persons in whom they could confide. They relaxed so far, however, as to limit this demand to seven years, after which it should be settled by bill or agreement between the king and parliament. The king was willing to surrender it for three years, on the condition that it should then be fully restored to the crown. With respect to Ireland, the parliament required that the truce should be declared null and void, and the conduct of the war and the government of that country should be committed to them. The royal commissioners, on the other hand, justified the king in agreeing to the cessation of arms, and asserted that he was in honour bound to maintain it. These matters were debated till the 22d of February; when the parliament having refused to prolong the negotiation, the commissioners returned to Westminster and Oxford, and preparations were made for another appeal to the sword.

This parley, the futility of which must have been apparent, had been entered into solely in compliance with the wishes of those on both sides who were weary of the evils of war and sincerely desirous of peace. Among these, however, the king himself cannot be included: he was determined to concede none of the points at issue, and his usual duplicity was displayed even at the commencement; for when, in his answer to them, he had been induced to style the two houses the parliament of England, he thus wrote to the queen: "If there had been but two beside myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament;" and he adds, that it is so registered in the council book. He was, besides, at this very time negotiating for foreign aid, and treating for peace and an army with the Irish rebels; and he was so much elated by exaggerated accounts of the successes of Montrose in Scotland, as

to be in full expectation of being shortly able to resume the plenitude of his despotism.

Their adoption of the covenant and presbytery to gratify their Scottish allies, made any accommodation still more difficult on the side of the parliament, as they could not now recede; and every person of candour must, we think, allow that they could not, with safety, resign the power of the sword to their relentless sovereign. "He who was reasonable among them" (that is, the commissioners), says Clarendon, "thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security, and believed it could proceed from nothing else but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion," an inference, the truth of which he does not deny. In effect, when the situation and temper of the two parties are considered, it is manifest that there was no room for accommodation; that one or the other must be subdued; and that despotism of some kind or other would be the result.

In the summer of the preceding year, the earls of Montrose and Antrim* had come to Oxford with tenders of their services to the crown. They were both inveterate enemies of Argyle, who had now the chief power in Scotland; and Montrose asserted that, if Antrim could raise fifteen hundred or two thousand men in Ireland, and land them in the Highlands, he himself would be able to join them with so many of the Highland clansmen, loyal to the king and enemies of Argyle, as would make a diversion which would, if not recover that kingdom, at least oblige the Scottish army in England to return to its defence. The king listened willingly to the proposal, and gave them the necessary commissions. Antrim passed forthwith over to Ireland, and, raising about eighteen hundred men among his clan, sent them, under his kinsman Sir Alister M'Donnel, named Colkitto, to Scotland.

* Randal M'Donnel, earl of Antrim, an Irish Catholic nobleman, had married the widow of Buckingham, who was the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland. Her wealth gave him consideration; but Clarendon describes him as a vain, weak man.

Montrose, having left Oxford with a good company, suddenly disappeared, and with only two attendants eluded the vigilance of both nations till he reached the foot of the Grampians, where he remained concealed till he heard of the landing of the Irish. He now directed them to join him in Athol, where, at their head, he unfurled the royal standard, and summoned the clans to arms. They responded to his call, poured down on the Lowlands, and at Tippermuir, on the 1st of September, he defeated the Lord Elcho, and then entered and plundered the town of Perth. He next moved northward. The bridge of Dee was defended by Lord Burley: but his men fled at the first shock, and the ferocious followers of Montrose entered Aberdeen pell-mell with them. The town was given up to pillage and massacre for four days.

The approach of Argyle with a superior force obliged Montrose to quit Aberdeen on the fifth day. He moved towards the Spey; and, finding its opposite bank guarded, buried his ordnance in a morass, and went up the stream till he reached the forests of Strathspey and the mountains of Badenoch. He then descended into Athol and Angus, still followed by Argyle; and, suddenly crossing the Grampians, again moved northward, in hopes of rousing the Gordons to arms. At Fyvie Castle he was nearly surrounded; but, after sustaining repeated attacks from a superior force, he retired by night, and effected his retreat to Badenoch. Argyle, wearied out, as it was now far advanced in winter, returned to his castle of Inverary, where he deemed himself in perfect security. But the energetic and vindictive Montrose, amid the snows of December, penetrated, by passes only trodden by the herdsmen in summer, into Argyleshire. The ferocious Irish and no less ferocious clansmen let all their fury loose on the devoted district: the inhabitants were massacred, the cattle driven off or destroyed, and the houses and corn burned. Argyle himself escaped only by putting to sea in an open boat. After seven weeks spent in the work of devastation, Montrose moved towards Inverness. Argyle, who

had rallied the scattered Campbells, was now, with three thousand men, at Inverlochy, at the western extremity of the chain of Highland lakes. By a secret and circuitous route, Montrose returned and fell on his vanguard by night; and, the moon giving light, the troops skirmished till day. On the morning of the 2d of February the fight began. Argyle, in whose character there was little of chivalry, viewed from a boat in the lake the noble but unavailing struggles of his gallant Campbells, and the slaughter of one half of their number. Montrose, elated with his victory, wrote to the king, promising soon to come to his aid with a gallant army; and this letter, arriving during the treaty of Uxbridge, aided to prevent the sanguine monarch from complying with terms on which peace might have been effected. Montrose returned to the north; the Grants and Gordons joined him, and he spread his ravages as before. Dundee was stormed and partly burned on the 4th of April; but the approach of a superior force under Baillie, and that soldier of fortune, Hurry, now the second time against the king, obliged him to retreat to the mountains with some loss. Baillie then entered Athol, while Hurry moved northward after Montrose, to whom he gave battle at Aldean, near Nairn, but was defeated with the loss of two thousand men. Baillie himself was soon after overthrown at Alford, on the Don.

The parliament had now completed their "New Model" of the army. It consisted of six thousand horse, divided into ten regiments, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot, in twelve regiments of ten companies each. These regiments were composed of veterans from the old armies, chiefly those of a religious cast,* and inclined to the

* "In consequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers in most regiments assumed the spiritual as well as military command over their men. They supplied the place of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, and pious exhortations. In marching to battle they lifted up their souls to God in

party of the Independents. A more rigorous discipline was introduced than had hitherto prevailed, and thus was formed that noble army, which, actuated by a higher principle than the mere love of pay and plunder, never encountered a defeat, and has left its memory a subject of admiration to posterity.

The king had given the nominal command of his forces to the Prince of Wales, but the real power to Prince Rupert, as his lieutenant. He had also sent the prince to Bristol, ostensibly to command in the west, but really because, as he was wont to express it, "he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom." Goring and Greenvil had separate commands in the west; and the license in which these profligate commanders indulged their men, and the atrocities committed by them, gave origin to a defensive association among the country people in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon; and a similar association appeared in Gloucester and Worcester. The object of these people, who were named, from their principal weapon, Clubmen, was to preserve their property from the hands of both parties; and, as the royalists were the greater plunderers of the two, their hostility was chiefly directed against them. Many of the loyal gentry, however, countenanced them, in hopes of being able hereafter to render them serviceable to the royal cause.*

About a third of the kingdom still obeyed the king. His army was more numerous than the New Model, but it was scattered and divided; its officers were at discord, and the men demoralized. He was, however, the first to take the field; and, leaving Oxford on the 7th of May, at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than one half were cavalry, he proceeded to raise the siege of Chester. The parliament forces

psalms and hymns, and made the whole field resound with spiritual as well as martial music. The sense of present danger was lost in the prospect of eternal felicity; wounds were esteemed meritorious in so holy a cause, and death martyrdom."—Russell's Modern Europe, ii., 123, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

* See Clarendon, v., 197.

retired at the rumour of his approach. He then advanced against the town of Leicester, which was taken by storm and plundered. Fairfax, who had been on his way to the relief of Taunton, which was hard pressed by the royalists under Greenvil, was ordered to return; and, having been baffled in his expectations of gaining Oxford by means of a party within the walls, he proceeded in pursuit of the king. On the 13th of June, near the village of Naseby, between Daventry and Harborough, his van overtook the rear of the royalists, and the next morning the two armies stood ready for action, the advantage in numbers being on the side of Fairfax. Sir Jacob (now Lord) Astley commanded the royalist infantry in the centre, Prince Rupert the horse on the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale that on the left. In the other army, Fairfax himself led the centre, Cromwell* the right, and Ireton the left wing. Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, bore down all before him. Ireton was wounded, and for some time a prisoner: but Rupert never knew when to stop; and, instead of returning to support his friends, he wasted his time in summoning the enemy's artillery. Cromwell, who had been equally successful on his side, knew better how to use his advantage; and, leaving four squadrons to watch the fugitives, he fell on the rear of the royal centre, which had hitherto maintained the fight with advantage against those opposed to it. Dismayed at finding themselves assailed in front and rear, they threw down their arms and sued for quarter. One regiment, however, though twice charged, remained unbroken. Fairfax then making Doyley, the captain of his guard, attack it in front, while he himself took it in the rear, it was at length broken, Fairfax with his own hand killing the ensign, and seizing the colours. When the soldier to whose charge he committed them boasted of the deed as his own, Fairfax

* Accident or design had continued to exempt Cromwell from the operation of the "self-denying ordinance" introduced by himself. Dr. Lingard is decidedly of opinion that Cromwell had no hope or design of being exempted from its operation.

said, "Let him retain that honour; I have to-day acquired enough besides." The king showed equal heroism. When he saw his infantry broken, he cried to his guard, and to such of the horse as had gathered about him, "One charge more, and we recover the day!" But they had no heart to renew the combat, and he was obliged to quit the field. The victory of the parliament army was complete. They took four thousand five hundred prisoners, and all the artillery and ammunition. It is remarkable, that in this decisive defeat the slain on the side of the royalists did not exceed three or four hundred men.*†

* Ludlow, i., 132. May's Breviary in Maseres' Select Tracts, p. 77.

† The following letter was addressed by Cromwell to the speaker of the house of commons immediately after this decisive battle, and is not a little curious, as showing the spirit of the times and the character of the man:

"SIR,

"Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. We marched yesterday after the king, who went before us from Daventree to Haverbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him; this day wee marched towards him. He drewe out to meete us: both armies engaged; wee, after three hours' fight very doubtful, at last routed his armie, killed and tooke about 5000, very many officers, but of what qualitye wee yet know not; wee took also about 200 carriages, all he had, and all his gunns, being 12 in number, whereof two were demie cannon, 2 demie culveringes, and (I think) the rest facers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Haverbrowe to nine beyond, even to sight of Leicester, whither the king fled. Sir, this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie, wherein non are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulnesse and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself, which is an honest and a thrivinge way, and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trustye. I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in it. He that venters his life for the libertee of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertee of his conscience, and you for the libertee he fights for; in this he rests who is your most humble servant, "OLIVER CROMWELL."

See Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii., 179, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

Among the spoils at Naseby was the king's cabinet, containing his correspondence with the queen and other important documents. A selection of these was made by the parliament, and published, with remarks, under the title of "The King's Cabinet Unclosed." Charles himself acknowledged that the collection was genuine, but complained that some papers were kept back which would have explained dubious passages. The royalists censured this act as base and barbarous; but it was hardly to be expected that men would forego so fair an occasion of vindicating themselves in the eyes of the world as these letters presented.*

They proved, in fact, but too well the king's insincerity in the late treaty. He thus writes to the queen, January 2: "As to my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction: this in general. If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did noways acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." Again he says, under date of January 9, "The settlement of religion and the militia are the first to be treated on; and be confident that I will neither quit Episcopacy nor that sword which God hath given into my hands." On the 15th of February he writes thus: "Thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembers;" and again: "Be confident, that in making peace I shall ever show my constancy

* Hume notices the honourable conduct of the Athenians in not opening a letter from Philip of Macedon to his wife; but they had nothing to learn from it. Had a private letter from the king to the Queen of Spain fallen into the hands of the English at any time, they would probably have sent it unopened. Lingard's remarks on this subject are candid.—See Hallam, ii., 259.

in adhering to bishops and all our friends,* and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament." After the breaking off of the treaty, he writes, March 13, somewhat elated at getting rid of his Oxford parliament: "And now," says he, "if I do anything unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, it will be merely my own fault." He then notices his fears that he should have been pressed "to make some overtures to renew the treaty;" but, if renewed, he goes on to say, it shall be to his honour and advantage; "I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here) as of the chief causers." These latter were Wilmot, Sussex, and Percy, whom he had sent away to the queen in France, which he thought "would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies," *i. e.*, their efforts for peace.

A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine for his army of ten thousand men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes thus to the queen, March 5: "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favours I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was also at this time about proceeding to Rome to solicit aid from the pope; and the king had written to Ormond on the 27th of February, commanding him, in these words, "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it might cost; so that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my re-

* The queen had written, December 16, "that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need;" and, "for if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterward there should be no peace, you could never expect succours from Ireland or any other Catholic princes, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself;" and, January 17, "above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor Catholics."

gal authority there be preserved." He had even sent Glamorgan on a secret mission to Ireland. In short, Charles's maxim for regaining his despotic power seems to have been the usual one of *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo.**

We now return to our narrative. After the fatal rout at Naseby the king directed his steps to Leicester, whence he retired to Hereford. He then enjoyed for some days the festivities of Ragland Castle, the seat of the venerable Marquis of Worcester, and thence proceeded to Cardiff. In a letter which he wrote from this latter place to Prince Rupert, who now commanded at Bristol, and who now joined in the common desire for peace, we may discern the still unbending character of this "*incomparable king*," as Clarendon styles him. "Speaking either," says he, "as to mere soldiers or statesmen, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin: but as to Christians, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown." His only hopes for himself, he says, were to end his days with honour and a good conscience; and his friends, if they stayed with him, could only expect to die or to live miserably; yet he would not "go less" than what he offered at Uxbridge, though he confesses it would be as great a miracle if they consented to it, as though in a month from thence he should be just as he was before the battle of Naseby.

Each day brought tidings of losses. Leicester had surrendered as soon as Fairfax appeared, who then marched to the relief of Taunton, whence Goring retired at his approach; but Fairfax brought him to action at Lamport, in Somerset, on the 10th of July, and defeated him. Bridgewater, deemed impregnable, surrendered on the 23d. Bath and Sherborne also submitted. In the north, Scarborough, Pomfret, and Carlisle had submitted; and the Scots, who had been engaged in the siege of the latter place, came and sat

* Or, in English, if I cannot make the gods propitious, I will move hell.

down before Hereford. The king, quitting Wales, hastened to Newark; and, finding that the Scottish horse were in pursuit of him, he burst into and ravaged the eastern counties, and at length, on the 28th of August, reached Oxford in safety. Here he was cheered with intelligence of another victory gained by Montrose. This indefatigable chief, having again issued from the mountains with a force of six thousand men, spread devastation over the country as far as the Forth. Baillie was advantageously posted at Kilsyth, near Stirling, and wished to act on the defensive: but, like Pompey at Pharsalia, he was overruled by the committee of estates, and obliged to move from his strong position and prepare for battle. On the 15th of August, ere his men were drawn up, his horse were driven back on the foot, and the Irish and clansmen rushed forward with wild yells and furious gestures. His troops broke and fled: they were pursued for the space of fourteen miles, and five thousand of them, it is said, were slain. All Scotland was now open to Montrose. Glasgow and other towns submitted; the citizens of Edinburgh sent him their royalist prisoners; the Marquis of Douglas and other nobles joined him, and a parliament was summoned to meet at Glasgow.

At this news, the Scottish horse under David Lesley, who were now at Nottingham, hastened back to their country: and the king, leaving Oxford with five thousand men, came and raised the siege of Hereford. Thence he was proceeding to the relief of Bristol: but at Ragland Castle he learned, to his utter dismay, that it had already surrendered. Prince Rupert, who, with a good garrison, had engaged to maintain it for four months, had at once given it up after Fairfax, on the 10th of September, had succeeded in forcing his lines. Charles, in his anger, revoked the commission he should never have given him, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. He then led his forces to the relief of Chester, which Colonel Jones was besieging. He was followed by the parliamentary general Pointz, who, on the 23d, fell on his rear while he was attack-

ing Jones, and the king was obliged to retire in disorder, with the loss of six hundred slain and one thousand prisoners. He now hastened to Bridgenorth, and thence to Newark, on the 4th of October. Here he halted for the remainder of the month, when, finding that his enemies were increasing around it, and that the Scots were returning, he stole away in the night of November 3, with a party of five hundred horse, and contrived to reach Oxford on the second day, where he remained for the winter.

The brilliant hopes excited by Montrose were now at an end: his Highland followers had, after their usual manner, quitted him to go home to secure their plunder; and having stationed himself, with the remainder, at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk, in Ettrick forest, he was suddenly fallen on by Lesley. After doing all that was in man to avert defeat, he was totally routed, and forced once more to fly to the mountains. Digby and Langdale, who were on their way to join him with fifteen hundred English horse, after routing a party of their opponents at Doncaster, and being themselves defeated by Colonel Copley at Sherborne, reached Dumfries, but, getting no account of Montrose, they disbanded their men and passed over to the Isle of Man, whence Digby proceeded to Dublin.

The negotiation with the Duke of Lorraine was now at an end, and the king's only remaining hope rested on Ireland, where he had been carrying on a secret treaty with the insurgents. His wish had been to convert the cessation of arms into a permanent peace: but the native Irish, headed by their clergy, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of their religion. To this Ormond, as a Protestant, neither could nor would consent. Charles then looked out for another agent, and such he found in Lord Herbert, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, a Catholic, his personal friend, and romantically and devotedly loyal. Herbert, now created Earl of Glamorgan, received, in the month of January, 1645, various instructions and commissions to treat with the Irish confederates, the king pledging himself to make

good whatever he should conclude. They were sealed with the private signet, and blanks were left for the names of the pope and other princes, which he was to insert himself, "to the end," said Glamorgan, "the king might have a starting-hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me, as it were, at stake, who, for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."

Thus furnished, on the 30th of April, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland, where Rinuccini, a papal nuncio, was now expected, and to whom, as well as to the pope, he had letters from the king. Having communicated his instructions to a certain extent to Ormond, negotiations were entered into with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny, to which town Glamorgan proceeded; and he there, on the 25th of August, concluded a secret treaty, by which the Catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues not actually in the possession of the Protestant clergy. In return, the Catholics engaged to supply the king with a body of ten thousand armed men, and devote two thirds of the church revenues to his service during the war. A public treaty was, in the mean time, going on with Ormond, who had scruples on the subject of religion. But, while he was thus deliberating, the parliament got hold of the secret treaty: for the titular Archbishop of Tuam, a martial prelate, happening to be killed in a skirmish between the Scots and Irish on the 17th of October, copies of all the documents were found in his carriage, and transmitted to London. The moment Ormond received information of this, which was not until Christmas, he called a council, and it was determined, at the suggestion of Digby, to arrest Glamorgan for high treason. Digby wrote at the same time in very strong and indignant terms to the king. In a message to the parliament on the 12th of January, 1646, Charles solemnly disavowed Glamorgan's proceedings, averring that he had only given him a commission to raise soldiers. To Ormond,

who had Glamorgan's warrant now in his hands, the king wrote evasively, asserting that he had no recollection of it, and that, if he did give such a warrant, it was with an understanding that it was not to be employed without the lord-lieutenant's approbation. Glamorgan, of whose innocence there could be no doubt, was not long a prisoner. On the 22d of January, he hastened to Kilkenny to resume the treaty, and obtained an immediate aid of six thousand men: but, while he was waiting for transports to carry them to the relief of Chester, he learned the fall of that city, and the total ruin of the royal cause in England. He therefore disbanded his army, but still remained in Ireland.*

After the surrender at Bristol, the whole south and west of England were speedily reduced. While Fairfax was employed in the western counties, Cromwell, on the 5th of October, took Winchester, and on the 14th, Basing House, the fortified mansion of the Marquis of Winchester. In the north, Latham House, which the intrepid Countess of Derby† had defended for two years, Lord Scroop's castle of Bolton, and other places, surrendered. The new year opened with the taking of Dartmouth, on the 18th of January, by Fairfax, who then resumed the siege of Exeter. At Torrington, on the 17th of February, he totally routed Lord Hopton and his Cornish troops. He followed him into Cornwall, where the people submitted at his approach, and by a treaty, signed on the 14th of March, Hopton disbanded his army, and surrendered all his arms, stores, and ammunition. The Prince of Wales had gone to Scilly, whence he soon after passed over to Jersey, and finally joined his mother at Paris. Penryn and other places also surrendered, and the lord-general returned to Exeter, which, on the 13th of April, was given up on conditions. The whole west being now reduced, Fairfax led his army back to Newbury.

* See Appendix (A).

† This heroic lady was a Frenchwoman, a daughter of the noble house of La Tremouille.

Chester had surrendered early in February. Sir Jacob Astley, with a body of three thousand men which he was leading to Oxford, was attacked on the 22d of March and totally defeated, at Stow, in the Woalds, on the borders of Gloucestershire, by Colonel Morgan and Sir William Brereton. "Now you have done your work and may go play, unless you fall out among yourselves," said Sir Jacob to those who had made him prisoner.

The king's only hopes, in truth, lay in the divisions among his enemies; and had he known (which he never did know) how to act with judgment, he might have recovered a sufficient portion of his regal authority. The breach between the two religious parties was widening every day, and the cordiality between the English parliament and their Scottish brethren was also on the wane. Charles intrigued with all these parties. "I am not without hope," he writes to Digby, "that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one the other, that I should be really king again." He used Montreuil, the French envoy, as his agent in his dealings with the Scots. His great object was to get to London, where he had numerous adherents, and where also the peace-party was now strong. To this end he was urgent for a personal treaty, securing him safe conduct, &c.; but the parliament, suspecting his object, would agree to it only on condition of his previously assenting to the bills they were then preparing, the first three of which were the same as those offered at Uxbridge. The commons even went so far as to pass a vote, on the 31st of March, that if the king came within their lines, the militia of London should apprehend all who might accompany him or resort to him, and "secure his person from danger," *i. e.*, confine him. They also ordered such as had borne arms against the parliament to quit London by the 6th of April.

The king's plan of playing the parties in parliament against each other was not a bad one, had he possessed the skill necessary to execute it. This will the

better appear by considering the state of that assembly.

Until the end of the year 1645 the constitutional party had the preponderance. In proof of this may be cited their vote on the 1st of December, at the close of a debate on the propositions for peace. It was as follows: that Fairfax should be created a baron, and have £5000 a year settled on him, and his father be made an earl; that Cromwell, Waller, and Haselrig should also be barons, the two former with £2500, the latter with £2000 a year; that Northumberland, Essex, Warwick, and Pembroke should be dukes, and Salisbury and Manchester marquises; that Say, Roberts, Wharton, Willoughby of Parham, and Howard of Escrick should be made earls; Hollis a viscount; and Stapylton and Sir Henry Vane senior barons. Inasmuch as these were nearly all Presbyterians, this vote, though it speaks little for the disinterestedness of the parliament, proves the strength of that party, and their attachment to the monarchic form of government. But when, in consequence of deaths, and the secession or expulsion of the royalists, it was found that nearly two hundred seats were vacant, the Presbyterians were obliged to give way, and issue writs for new elections; and the house, in the beginning of the following year, presented an altered appearance. The royalists alone being excluded, and the *self-denying ordinance* being now a dead letter, the officers of the army and others of the Independent party obtained seats: for, as Ludlow candidly confesses, "honest men (*i. e.*, his own party) in all parts did what they could to promote the elections of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance," by which he means the establishment of a commonwealth. The parties were now more evenly balanced, though the preponderance still was on the Presbyterian side; and the royal name and authority, judiciously managed, might have sufficed to turn the scale.

To resume the narrative: the parliament troops now began to close in upon Oxford; and the king

must soon make his choice, either to sustain a siege at the hazard of being finally compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, or abandon the town. He chose the latter; and, on the night of the 27th of April, left Oxford, having first cut off his hair and beard, and riding with a portmanteau behind him, as the servant of his faithful follower Ashburnham: one Dr. Hudson, a loyal military clergyman, who knew the country well, acting as their guide. They took the road to London, passed through Uxbridge and Brentford, and thence turned to Harrow-on-the-hill. Here the king finally determined to give up all thoughts of going to London, and to follow his original design. He now proceeded to St. Alban's; and, finding here that his escape in the disguise of a servant was known, he assumed that of a clergyman. At length, on the 30th, he came to Downham in Norfolk, where he remained while Hudson went to Montreuil at Newark. Montreuil had been for some time negotiating, on the part of the king, with the leaders of the Scottish army. The affair, like most of the Scottish transactions at this period, is involved in obscurity. It would appear, however, that the Scots had overreached the sanguine Frenchman, and led him to give the king hopes of what they never intended to perform. It was arranged that they should receive the monarch in their camp—a measure from which they proposed to themselves many advantages; but they, at the same time, required that it should be done in such a manner as not to offend the English parliament. Their plan was to send a party of cavalry to Harborough, whither the king was to come, as it were, accidentally, on his way to Scotland; and he was there to command their attendance on him. This plan, however, had been given up; and, on his arrival at that place, Charles found none there to meet him. Montreuil, though he now distrusted the Scots, was still of the opinion, when Hudson came to him, that the king's only chance was to put himself into their hands. Charles therefore, on the 5th of May, came to Montreuil's abode at Southwell; and, after dinner, the envoy took him to

Kelham, Leven's headquarters. Leven lifted up his hands in great surprise, either affected or real; he and his officers showed the monarch the most marked attention; and Kelham House was assigned him for his residence: but when Charles, to ascertain whether he was free, gave the word to the guard, Leven said, "I am the older soldier, sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me." They wrote off immediately to the parliament, saying that "they were astonished at the providence of the king's coming into their army, which was so private that it was long ere they could find him there," etc.; and the king having ordered Bellasis to surrender Newark to them, they set out, on the 9th, on their march homeward: for the commons had voted that the king's person should be disposed of by both houses, and that he should be sent to Warwick Castle. Poyntz, with a body of five thousand horse, was ordered to watch the Scottish army: but their march was so rapid, that, on the 18th, the houses had intelligence of their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The next day they resolved that they "had no farther need of the army of their brethren, the Scots, in this kingdom," and voted them £100,000; half to be paid when they gave up Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places held by them, and the other half when they had entered Scotland.

At Newcastle the king was treated with all due respect, but none of his friends were allowed access to him. As the establishment of Presbytery was a *sine quâ non* with the more zealous Scots, he undertook, unaided as he was, to discuss the matter with their great champion Henderson From the general duplicity of his character, it was thought at the time that Charles was not in earnest in his maintenance of Episcopacy, but his sincerity in this matter is now beyond question. He had consented to its abolition in Scotland, but it was with a secret design of restoring it when he should have the power. He had, in a similar manner, as we have seen, agreed to the abolition of Protestantism in Ireland; and there is little doubt that he meant to deceive the Catholics also.

Yet at this very time he wished to throw himself into their hands. In a letter to Glamorgan, written on the 20th of July, he says, "Tell the nuncio that, if once I can come into *his and your hands*, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it." He also, while at Newcastle, meditated an escape by sea: but whether he intended to go to France or to Ireland is uncertain. At this very time, too, he was harassed by letters from the queen, Jermyn, Colepepper, and others, at Paris, and from the foreign residents there, urging him to give up the church: the queen even threatening to go into a monastery if he should refuse. Still, on this point he stood firm. In truth, he saw that he could gain nothing by it: for nothing short of the entire control over the militia would content the parliament, and this the queen and his other friends would not allow him to consent to.

There were two points at this time under debate between the English and the Scots: the one the disposal of the royal person, and the other the settlement of arrears due to the Scottish army. The Scots, on the 4th of July, declared, "that as they came into England out of affection, and not in a mercenary way, so they would be as willing to return home, and want of pay should be no hinderance thereunto." In reply to this it was voted that the kingdom had no more need of them, and "is no longer able to bear them." The Scots thereupon, on the 12th of August, proposed to evacuate the kingdom, provided they were paid for their losses, etc., when on the 14th it was voted to give them £100,000, and to have their accounts audited. "The houses," says Whitelock, "now saw the advantage of keeping up their army, as that which the more inclined the Scots to come to this offer." The latter, on the 19th, stated their demands at £500,000, but agreed, on the 1st of September, to take £400,000, which sum the parliament consented to give; and thus far the transaction appears to have had no reference to the king.

In the latter part of August the parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king. They were in substance the same as the Uxbridge articles, only that the militia, with power to employ it, was to remain with the parliament for the limited term of twenty years. To these the king returned a positive refusal, veiled, indeed, under the demand of a personal treaty. The enemies of peace and royalty exulted, while the moderate party were much dejected at this result.* Arrangements having been effected respecting the Scottish arrears, it was voted, on the 18th of September, that the king's person should be disposed of as the two houses might think fit, but that no dispute on this subject should interfere with the treaties or the return of the Scottish army. The Scottish commissioners strongly insisted on the right of their nation to a share in the disposal of the king. In November the Scottish parliament met; and Hamilton, who was at liberty, exerted himself strongly in favour of the king. All were of opinion that he should accept the propositions, but Charles was immoveable on the subject of the church. Notwithstanding, on the 16th of December, a vote was obtained to maintain his personal freedom and his right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, having declared it unlawful to support him while he refused to assent to the covenant, and the parliament being aware of the madness of engaging in a war with England, and advised by Hollis and the leading Presbyterians there that the surrender of the king was the only means of causing the Independent army to be disbanded, who were the great enemies of the king and of peace, they finally, on the first of February, 1647, gave him up to the commissioners sent to receive him. Charles gladly left the Scots,† and was conducted to one of

* When thanks were voted to the commissioners, one said more thanks were due to the king. "What will become of us," whispered a member, "since the king refuses the propositions?" "Nay, what would have become of *us*," replied an Independent, "had he granted them?"

† Whitelock (under date of December 15, 1646) gives the fol

his mansions, named Holdenby House or Holmby House, near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

Charles himself said that he "was bought and sold," and the charge of selling their king has been, down to the present day, reiterated against the Scots.* There are, no doubt, many circumstances in the affair which have a suspicious appearance. It seems certain that they would not have got so large a sum from the parliament as they did if the person of the king had not been in their hands, and they probably took advantage of this circumstance to insist on their demands. But there are no sufficient grounds for charging them with inviting him to their camp with this design; they did not give him up till they had no choice but that or war; they acted under the advice of the friends of monarchy in the English parliament; they stipulated in the most express terms for the safety of his person; nay, to the very last, if he would have given them satisfaction on the subject of religion, they would have declined surrendering him. Like the monarch himself, they were unhappily situated: but we do not think that they can be justly charged with the guilt of having sold their king.†

The civil war, after a duration of nearly four years, was now at an end. Oxford, Worcester, and other places had surrendered; the old Marquis of Worcester defended Ragland Castle against Fairfax and five

lowing affecting notice: "A Scotch minister preached boldly before the king at Newcastle, and, after his sermon, called for the 52d psalm, which begins,

"'Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked works to praise?'

His majesty thereupon stood up and called for the 56th psalm, which begins,

"'Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour.'

The people waved the minister's psalm and sung that which the king called for."

* "If it be not admitted they sold him," says Sir P. Warwick, "it must be confessed they parted with him for a good price."

† The remarks of Lingard on this subject are candid and just. See also those of Laing and Hallam.

thousand men, but he was obliged at last, on the 19th of August, to open its gates; and two days later Pendennis Castle in Cornwall also surrendered. Harlech Castle in North Wales was the last to submit, on the 30th of March, 1647. Favourable terms were granted in all cases, and the articles were honourably observed. Much and justly as intestine warfare is to be deprecated, we may look back with some satisfaction on this civil contest, unexampled in the history of the world. It does not, like the civil wars of other countries, disgust us by details of butcheries and other savage atrocities: all was open and honourable warfare; a generous humanity, for the most part, was displayed on both sides; and those who were finally victorious, greatly to their honour, sent none of the vanquished to the scaffold.

While awarding praise, we cannot in justice pass over the Catholic nobility and gentry of England. Urged by an impulse of generous loyalty, as appears to us, rather than by any cold calculations of interest, they ranged themselves on the side of the king, though they knew but too well that he was at all times ready to sacrifice them, and that they were the persons on whom the vengeance of the parliament would fall most heavily.

Montrose, on receiving orders from the king, laid down his arms and retired to the Continent. Ormond had, by the royal command, concluded a peace with the Irish Catholics, but the nuncio and the clergy assembled at Waterford, on the 6th of August, declared it void. The nuncio himself then assumed the supreme power, and, at the head of the united armies of Preston and Owen O'Neal,* advanced against Dublin. As Ormond had wasted the country they were obliged to retire; but he was well aware that it must fall ultimately into their hands if not relieved from England. The king was now a captive, and powerless; the Irish Catholics were entirely ruled by their priest-

* Preston was the general of the Catholics of the English blood, O'Neal of the Ulster Irish.

hood, and nothing short of the extirpation of Protestantism and the English interest would content them. To avert this calamity, on the 22d of February, 1647, Ormond entered into treaty with the parliament, and he agreed to put Dublin and the other garrisons into their hands. The sequestration was taken off from his own estate, and he had permission given him to reside for some time in England.

The Presbyterian system was at this time established by ordinance of parliament; each parish was to have its minister and lay elders; a number of adjoining parishes were to form a classis, with its presbytery of ministers and elders; several classes a province, with its assembly; and, finally, a national assembly was to preside over all. But the system never came into full operation, except in London and Lancashire; the parliament could not be brought to allow the divine right of presbytery; they greatly limited the power of the keys, and allowed of appeals from the ecclesiastical courts.

The moderate party in parliament lost at this time a great support by the death of the Earl of Essex, which took place on the 14th of September. He died in consequence of overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor Forest. He was buried with great state, in Westminster Abbey, on the 22d of October; the members of both houses, the civil and military officers, and all the troops in London attending the funeral.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED).

1647–1649.

The Parliament and Army.—Seizure of the King; his Treaties with Cromwell and Ireton; Flight from Hampton Court.—Change of conduct in Cromwell and Ireton.—Second Civil War.—Defeat of Hamilton.—Surrender of Colchester.—Treaty at Newport.—King seized again by the Army.—Pride's Purge.—Proceedings of the Parliament.—Trial of the King; his Execution; Character.—Reflections.

THE Presbyterians were still, as we have seen, the more numerous party in parliament. The main strength of the other party lay in the army; in which, since the new model, the spirit of fanaticism, under the auspices of Cromwell, had greatly increased: for the English Presbyterian clergy had retired from the toils of a military life; the regiments, therefore, were without chaplains; and the officers, and soon the privates, took on them the offices of praying and preaching.

The parliament saw the danger likely to result from the continuance in arms of a body of men animated with fanaticism and formidable by discipline. To reduce their number was therefore the first object. As the royalists were utterly crushed and the Scots had withdrawn, they proposed that a moderate force should be retained to preserve the peace in England; while a sufficient army should be sent to reduce Ireland, and the remainder disbanded. To this arrangement the army, however, had an invincible repugnance. The service in Ireland, however flattering to their fanatic spirit, promised only toil, privation, and danger; and they looked forward in preference to the quiet enjoyment of their pay in England. The habits of a military life had rendered their former plodding pursuits dis-

tasteful to them, particularly to the officers, many of whom had risen from very humble stations in society.* Cromwell too, now their actuating spirit, seems to have even then formed his plans for governing parliament by the army. The commons, in the mean time, on the 8th of March, voted that, excepting the general, there should be no farther any officer of higher rank than colonel; that no member of the house should have a command; and that all the officers should take the covenant, and conform to the new order of church-government. It is quite evident that Cromwell was the person chiefly aimed at. But the parliament had unwisely suffered the pay of the army to fall into arrears, and thus furnished them with a plausible ground of complaint. On hearing of this vote, the army suddenly broke up their quarters about Nottingham, and marched to Saffron-Walden, in Essex. Commissioners from the parliament met them there on the 22d, on the subject of the service in Ireland; but the officers required to be previously satisfied on certain points; and a petition was in the mean time circulated for signature through the army, requiring an act of indemnity for all past occurrences, payment of arrears, exemption from impressment, pensions for the maimed and for widows, and pay till they should be disbanded. The parliament, on the 30th, voted this petition to be mutinous, and forbade any farther proceeding in it: but of this the soldiers took little heed.

* Colonel Pride, for instance, is said to have been a drayman, and Colonel Huson a cobbler. We must not, however, on all occasions give implicit credit to the royalist writers in these matters. Thus they always say that Harrison had been a butcher, whereas the truth is that his father was a respectable grazier, and himself a member of one of the Inns of Court. Mrs. Hutchinson, however, says (p. 315), that he was "but a mean man's son and of a mean education, and no estate before the war:" but a grazier must have been a mean man in the eyes of the daughter of Sir Allen Apsley. She adds, that Harrison "had gathered an estate of 2000*l.* a year, besides engrossing great offices and encroaching upon his under officers, and maintained his coach and family at a height as if they had been born to principality."

The army had at this time a parliament of its own; the superior officers formed a supreme council, while two *adjutators*, or, as they were soon named, *agitators*,* being chosen from each regiment by the common soldiers, formed a lower house. It seems probable that Cromwell and his able son-in-law Ireton were the projectors of this institution.

Throughout the months of April and May the parliament vainly sought to rid themselves of their refractory servants. At length, urged by the impetuosity of Hollis, Stapylton, and Glynn, on the 25th of May they sent instructions to the general to disband the various regiments without delay. This measure produced results which they had by no means anticipated.

All this time the king had been at Holmby. The commissioners sent by the parliament to take charge of him treated him with respect; and he enjoyed the recreation of riding about the country, and amusing himself at bowls in the bowling-green at Althorpe:† but his servants were selected by the parliament; he was refused the attendance of any of his chaplains, and even the people who resorted to him, to be touched for the king's-evil, were not allowed to approach him.‡ On the 12th of May he wrote to the parliament, offering to establish presbytery for three years, to resign the command of the army for ten years, and to give full satisfaction respecting the war in Ireland. He had received no answer, when, on the 2d of June, as he was at bowls, an officer, in the uniform of Fair-

* This is the word employed by Ludlow, Berkeley, and Hobbes. The change was probably made by the ignorant soldiers. Adjutator is incorrect, the proper Latin word being *adjutor*.

† It is said that the commissioners were generally his companions in this sport.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ To defray in part the expenses of the king's household while at Holmby, the parliament ordered the communion plate of the royal chapel at Whitehall to be melted down. This consisted, according to the report of the Committee of Revenue, of "a paire of great candlesticks, one gilt shipp, two gilt vases, two gilt layres, a square basonn and fountaine, and a silver rodd." Some of these articles appear not a little singular for such a use.—*Am. Ed.*

fax's regiment, was observed among the spectators. The answers of the stranger to the inquiries of Colonel Greaves, who commanded the guards at Holmby, exciting suspicion, the king was hurried home and the guards were doubled. At about two the following morning, the stranger (who proved to be Cornet Joice, formerly a tailor) appeared with a party of four hundred horse before the gates, where they were received by the guards as brethren. They said that they were come to prevent their enemies from carrying away the king; set their guards, and passed the day in consultation. At ten in the evening, Joice, having placed sentinels at the doors of the commissioner's apartments, proceeded to that of the king, which he entered with his hat in one hand and his pistol in the other. He behaved, however, with civility, and seems to have satisfied the king in relation to his removal. Charles merely required that he should repeat the next day in public what he there said in private, and Joice then withdrew.

At six the next morning Joice drew up his men before the door. The king, standing on the steps, asked him by what authority he undertook to convey him away. He replied, by the authority of the army. The king then demanded if he had a written commission to that effect from the general; and, on his repeating the question, Joice, pointing to his men, said, "There is my commission." Charles smiled, and answered, "I never before read such a commission; but it is written in characters fair and legible enough—a company of as handsome, proper gentlemen as I have seen a long while." He then demanded to be treated with respect if he should go with them, and not to have his conscience forced. The troopers acclaimed their assent; and Joice replied, that it was not their principle to force any man's conscience, much less their king's. He offered him a choice of residences: Charles fixed on Newmarket, and was allowed the attendance of his own servants. The commissioners protested in vain against this act: the king, when ready, mounted his horse with a cheerful

air, and set off with the troopers, whom the commissioners also accompanied.

Fairfax, on hearing what had taken place, sent Colonel Whalley, with two regiments of horse, to reconduct the king to Holmby: but he refused to return. The next day Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, waited on him. In a private interview, Fairfax made to him a proffer of his services. "Sir," said the king, "I have as good an interest in the army as you." On this Fairfax remarks: "By this I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on; the agitators had brought him into an opinion that the army was for him." Fairfax tried in vain to bring Joice to a court-martial. Hollis asserts, and probably with truth, that the whole matter had been planned by Cromwell and Ireton, and that Joice was merely their agent.*

As soon as the parliament heard of this bold proceeding of the army, they recalled their precipitate vote of the 25th of May. But this was of no avail: the army mustered on the 10th on Triplow Heath, near Cambridge, and prepared to march for London; and two days after they were at St. Alban's, whence, on the 16th, they sent a charge against eleven of the leading Presbyterians, requiring that they should be displaced from parliament and thrown into prison. Their headquarters were then removed to Berkhamstead on the 25th, and the next day to Uxbridge. Addresses from the counties around London, which now saw where the power really lay, were presented to the general and the army. Messages passed and repassed between the houses and the army; when at length, on the 20th of July, the eleven proscribed members requested and obtained leave to go into the country, or beyond sea, for six months; "and here," says Hallam, "may be said to have fallen the legislative power and civil government of England, which, from this hour to that of the restoration, had never

* Echard states that Cromwell was highly pleased at the success of this enterprise, and that, on the arrival of Charles, he exultingly said, "Now that I have the king in my hands, I have the parliament in my pocket."—*Am. Ed.*

more than a momentary and precarious gleam of existence, perpetually interrupted by the sword."

The king, in the mean time, was treated with unusual indulgence. He moved with the army: but things were so arranged as to enable him to stop at his own houses or at the mansions of the nobility, by whom he was splendidly entertained. He was allowed the attendance of his Episcopal chaplains, and his friends were freely admitted to him. The parliament had always rudely refused to gratify him by the sight of his children, whom they had committed to the charge of the Earl of Northumberland: but now, by a letter from Fairfax, the earl was directed to take them down to Cavesham House, near Reading, where they remained for two days with their father. Cromwell, who was not deficient in natural feelings, and who was present at their first interview, declared to Berkeley that it was "the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld;" and wept plenteously when describing it.

Fairfax, brave and skilful in the camp and field, but guileless and simple as a child in civil affairs, was entirely ruled by Cromwell and Ireton; and these two able men no less absolutely governed the council of officers and the agitators. Sir John Berkeley, who had returned from France, was the principal agent between them and the king. They expressed, and probably with sincerity, every inclination to restore him to his dignity: Cromwell himself declaring that "he thought no man could enjoy his estate quietly unless the king had his rights."* But Charles, sanguine and imprudent, thought that, by playing the army, the parliament, and the Scots against each other, he should be able to recover his despotic power: he had also a firm persuasion that nothing could be finally arranged

* It was even suspected by some that Cromwell was really inclined to restore the king to power; and writers are not wanting who relate at length a story of his having entered into secret negotiations with Charles for this object. All such accounts are very insufficiently substantiated, and deserve but little credit.—*Am. Ed.*

without him, and that whatever party he joined must have the superiority. They saw this. "Sir," said Ireton to him on one occasion, "you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between the parliament and you." When the king was at Woburn, in the latter end of July, "Proposals" far more moderate than any he had yet seen, drawn up by Ireton, were laid before him by Berkeley; but his reply was, "Well, I shall see them glad, ere long, to accept of more equal terms." Lord Lauderdale, one of the Scottish commissioners, had just at this time come down to inform him that a new covenant was receiving numerous signatures in the city, by which the subscribers bound themselves to bring him up to Westminster to confirm the concessions he had made at Holmby. Charles was, as usual, unduly elated; and, when the council of officers waited on him with their completed proposals, on the 1st of August, they met with a decided refusal. "You cannot do without me," said he; "you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." On a whisper from Berkeley, the king attempted to soften the terms he had used: but Colonel Rainsborough, a decided foe to accommodation, had already conveyed them to the army.

An event of great importance was now on the eve of taking place. The citizens had petitioned against the demands of the army, but the houses rejected their prayer, and also, on the 24th of July, voted the new covenant to be an act of treason. Two days after, the citizens petitioned again; and, on their being refused, a great crowd of apprentices and disbanded soldiers of Essex's army besieged the doors of the houses, and never ceased from clamours and threats till they had forced the parliament to rescind the obnoxious ordinances. The houses then adjourned to the 30th; on which day, when they met, they learned that the two speakers and several of the Independent members had fled to the army, which was now on its march for London. They then appointed new speakers, revived the committee of safety, and

prepared to raise a force to oppose the army Waller, Massey, and Poyntz were appointed to command the new levies.

On the 3d of August the army mustered twenty thousand strong on Hounslow Heath. About fourteen of the lords and one hundred of the commons appeared among them. The aspect of things in the city, in the mean time, was various: when word came that the army had made a halt, the cry was, "One and all!" but if they heard that it was advancing, the word was, "Treat! treat!" A letter was finally sent to the general, "beseeching him that there might be a way of composure." His demands that the fortifications on the west side of the city should be given up to him having been complied with, on the morning of the 6th he advanced from his headquarters at Hammersmith—one regiment of foot and two of horse preceding him, the members following in coaches, and a regiment of horse bringing up the rear. All the soldiers wore laurel-sprigs in their hats. In this state he reconducted the members to their seats, and received, in return, the thanks of both houses and the lieutenancy of the Tower. The next day, the 7th, the whole army marched through the city, and then proceeded to take up their quarters in Kent and Essex, the general fixing himself at Croydon.

The eleven obnoxious members, who had recently come forward again, now sought safety in flight. After many debates, enforced at length by a letter from the general, an ordinance was passed on the 26th of August, making null and void all votes, etc., from the 26th of July to the 6th of August. Soon after, on the 7th of September, Clement Walker, Glyn the recorder, and Sir John Maynard, were expelled from the house; the seven lords, also, who had continued to sit, were impeached on the 8th, and the lord-mayor and four of the aldermen were committed to the Tower.

While matters were thus proceeding in London, the king remained in tranquillity. He removed to his

house of Oatlands on the 14th, whither numbers resorted to him from London; and, ten days after, having dined with his children at Sion House, he took up his abode at Hampton Court. The headquarters of the general were now at Putney.

At Hampton Court the king enjoyed great liberty, having given his promise not to attempt an escape: he saw his children whenever he pleased; his friends had ready access to him; he corresponded freely with the queen; and the officers treated him with the utmost respect. Frequent conversations took place between him and Cromwell, as they walked in the gardens and galleries of the palace. Huntingdon, the major of Cromwell's regiment, and Berkeley and Ashburnham, communicated freely between them. On the 8th of September, the parliament, at the desire of the Scottish commissioners, sent the "Propositions" once more to the king. Charles, secretly advised by Ireton, rejected them. His answer was shown privately to Cromwell and Ireton, and was in some parts amended by them. Cromwell gave repeated assurances that no worse conditions than the "Proposals" of the army should ever be imposed on him; and Ireton said that "they would purge and purge, and never leave purging the houses, till they had made them of such a temper as should do his majesty's business." In his reply to the houses, Charles declared his preference of the "Proposals" of the army, and offered to treat respecting them with joint commissioners of the parliament and army. "Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the house," says Ludlow, "pressed the king's desires with great earnestness; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the suspicions of them grew so strong that they were accounted betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament." He adds, that the army were no less dissatisfied with their conduct. There had, in fact, a new party sprung up in the army, styling themselves

"Rationalists," as they affected to possess no knowledge or talents, but simply the *reason* which God had given them to be their guide. They soon, however, acquired the more expressive title of "Levellers," as their reason showed them that all distinctions between man and man should be *levelled*. These were the men to whom all plans for the restoration of the king were so distasteful.

On taking a calm view of the whole of the dealings of Cromwell and Ireton at this time with the king, as they are variously reported, we see no reason whatever to doubt their sincerity.* Cromwell, it is said, was to be made Earl of Essex, captain of the king's guard, and a knight of the garter, and Ireton lord-lieutenant of Ireland.† But fear of the levellers, and the discovery of the king's insincerity,‡ caused them afterward to change and become his enemies: for, at this very time, Charles, with his incurable passion for intrigue, was in secret treaty with the Scots. He told Lord Capel that "he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war be-

* See the narrations of Berkeley, Ashburnham, Huntingdon, and Ludlow. This last says (i., 198), "For my own part, I am inclined to believe that Ireton never intended to close with the king." But Mrs. Hutchinson believed in his sincerity: he said to her husband, who was his cousin (p. 274), "He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions to regain by art what he had lost in fight." Godwin, in his zeal for the pure republicanism of Cromwell and Ireton, is content to let them pass for a pair of thorough hypocrites, rather than allow of their sincerity in these transactions. Baron Maseres (Select Tracts, p. liv.) thinks as we do on this subject. So also does Dr. Lingard, who on this and other occasions is uncommonly just towards Cromwell.

† See Berkeley, in Maseres's Tracts, p. 371. "If their own writers, prophets of their own, tell true, they capitulate for honours and preferments; Cromwell to have a blue riband, be an earl; his son to be of the bed-chamber to the prince; Ireton some great officer in Ireland."—Hollis, *Ibid.*, p. 264.

‡ It seems but little probable that so shrewd a man as Cromwell should have ever possessed the smallest confidence in Charles's sincerity, whatever secret understanding he may at any time have had with him.—*Am. Ed.*

tween the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves a universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in England; and that in such a conjuncture he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other." Ormond was also at Hampton Court; and it was arranged that he should at the same time resume the lieutenancy of Ireland and act for the royal interest. Of this intrigue Cromwell got information; and he expostulated with Ashburnham, complaining "that the king could not be trusted," and adding, that "he would not be answerable if anything fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation."*

Cromwell is said to have made this discovery by intercepting a letter from Charles to the queen. There is on this point a curious story to the following effect: Cromwell and Ireton, riding out one day with Lord Broghill in Ireland, told him that, while they were in treaty with the king, they learned from one of their spies of the bed-chamber that their doom was fixed in a letter to the queen, which was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, that was to be taken to the Blue Boar in Holborn, to be sent to Dover. Cromwell and Ireton then, disguised as common troopers, went immediately to the inn, and sat drinking there till the man whom they expected came, when they ripped open the saddle and found what they wanted. The king said in it that he thought he should close with the Scots; and they, after this, having no hopes of him, resolved to ruin him. According to another account, the words of the letter were, "that he should know how in due time to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord."†

Be this account true or false, Cromwell and Ireton

* Clarendon, v. 485.

† Ashburnham (Narrative, p. 94) says that Cromwell and Ireton told him "that the king was in treaty with the parliament and the Scots, for the justification of which they affirmed that they had both his and the queen's letters to make it good."—See the note on this subject in Laing's History of Scotland.

kept up their communications with the king: but the levellers were now growing too strong for them. On the 1st of November the agitators of sixteen regiments presented to parliament a plan for new-modelling the constitution. There was no mention in it of either king or lords; parliaments were to be biennial; all persons except servants were to have votes, etc. Cromwell and Ireton opposed these measures firmly: but the former was menaced with impeachment, and the latter had found it expedient to quit the council of officers when it was intimated that the army would have no more addresses made to the king. It is said that there was also a plot of the levellers to seize the person of the king; and that Cromwell, who had pledged his word to give him warning if there should be any danger, wrote to inform Colonel Whalley, by whom the letter was instantly shown to him, on the 11th of November. That very night, Charles, who had already withdrawn his parole, secretly quitted Hampton Court, accompanied by Legge; and, crossing the river to Thames Ditton, where Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses, proceeded to Titchfield House in Sussex, the residence of the Countess-dowager of Southampton. On his table at Hampton Court were found various letters, among which was an anomymous one warning him of assassination, and one from himself to the parliament, assuring them he would be always ready to leave the asylum which he had chosen "whenever he might be heard with honour, freedom, and safety."

There is great mystery in this escape of the king, which could hardly have taken place without the connivance of Whalley, and even of Cromwell. The enemies of the latter see in it a deep stratagem to get the king more completely into his power. We confess that we do not think so ill of Cromwell; and, viewing him as a statesman and a man of humanity, we are inclined to give the preference to the opinion of Hobbes,* that he wished to afford the king an op-

* Behemoth, part iii., apud Maseres, p. 593.

portunity of escaping to the Continent.* It would also seem that Charles's original plan had been to make his escape by sea, and that he had arranged with the Scottish commissioners to go to Berwick, but that they had repelled him by talking again of their covenant. He then appears to have thought of Jersey: but no vessel had been provided, and there seemed little chance of being able to procure one speedily. He also thought of the Isle of Wight,† of which Colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of his chaplains, and a man of honour, had lately been made governor. While he and Legge, therefore, remained at Titchfield, he sent Berkeley and Ashburnham to Hammond, with copies of Cromwell's and the anonymous letter, to tell him that the king designed to seek protection from him. They met Hammond as he was on his way from Carisbrooke Castle to Newport, and Berkeley abruptly began by informing him that the king was at hand. Hammond turned pale, trembled excessively, and was near falling from his horse. "Oh, gentlemen!" he cried, "you have undone me by bringing the king into the island, if you have brought him; if you have not, pray let him not come; for what between my duty to his majesty and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of his confidence on the one hand, and the observance of my trust to the

* There is much difference of opinion as to the real cause of the king's flight; and it is, perhaps, still doubtful whether it was a plan of Cromwell's or not. Andrew Marvell, who was personally friendly to Cromwell, in his ode on the return of the latter from Ireland, has these lines alluding to him:

> "And Hampton shows what part
> He had of wiser art,
> When, twining subtle fears with hope,
> He wove a net of such a scope,
> That Charles himself might chase
> To Carisbrook's narrow case."

Milton, on the other hand, who was his Latin secretary, wholly denies that Cromwell had anything to do with the king's flight.—*Am. Ed.*

† Ashburnham (Narr., p. 112) asserts, that the king left Hampton Court with the intention of going to the Isle of Wight.

army on the other, I shall be confounded." When he had recovered from his surprise the affair was considered. Hammond would only pledge himself to do what might be expected from "a person of honour and honesty," with which Ashburnham declared himself satisfied. Hammond then proposed that one should remain while the other returned to the king: but he afterward decided to accompany them himself. When they were taking boat at Cowes, he made Captain Baskett, the commandant there, enter it with them. On their arrival at Titchfield, the others remained below, while Ashburnham went up to apprize the king. "What!" cried Charles, striking his breast in agony, "have you brought Hammond with you? Oh, Jack! you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring. The governor will keep me prisoner." He then told him that he had sent to Southampton for a vessel. Ashburnham now proposed what he called an "expedient:" which was "to secure," *i. e.*, murder both Hammond and Baskett. Charles walked up and down the room, weighing the proposal. "I understand you well enough," said he, "but the world would not excuse me. Should I follow that counsel, it would be believed that Hammond had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. It is too late to think of anything but going through the way you have forced upon me, and so leave the issue to God." Ashburnham burst into tears. It is to be wished that the king had rejected the nefarious project proposed to him in stronger terms.

Hammond and Baskett were now called up: they kissed the king's hand, and Hammond renewed his protestations. Charles then passed over to the island, where he was lodged in Carisbrooke Castle. He found the people of the place loyal, and was allowed to ride about as he pleased.

The projects of the levellers, in the mean time, appeared to the superior officers so dangerous, that it was determined to make a bold effort to suppress them; and this was effected by the firmness of Crom-

well, whose life even was at stake. Fairfax, having ordered the troops to muster in three brigades on three different days, had a remonstrance prepared, to be read at the head of each regiment. The first rendezvous took place at Ware, on the 15th of November, where two regiments, not of the brigade, appeared on the ground, with seditious papers round their hats. One of these, on being reasoned with, submitted: but the other proving refractory, Cromwell caused some of the most forward and turbulent to be seized. A court-martial was held on them; three were condemned to death, and, being made to draw lots, he on whom the let fell was shot at the head of his regiment; and thus the mutinous spirit was for the present checked. Cromwell, however, it would seem, soon saw that it was too hazardous to oppose the violent party. Two thirds of the army, it is said, had apprized him and Ireton that they were resolved, come what might, to go on with their enterprise of destroying the king; and that, fearing the effect of a schism in the army, they "concluded that, if they could not bring the army to their sense, it was best to comply with them." Of this Berkeley was informed in the following mysterious manner. Being sent by the king and Hammond with letters to the general, and Cromwell, and Ireton, at Windsor, he met with a very cool reception from them. He retired to his inn, and in the evening sent his servant out to see if he could meet any of his acquaintance. A general officer spoke to him, and desired him to tell his master that he would meet him at midnight, in a close behind the Garter inn. In the interview he told Berkeley that the army no longer mistrusted Cromwell and Ireton; that it was intended to send a body of eight hundred men to seize the king, in order to bring him to trial; "and therefore," said he, "if the king can escape, let him do it as he loves his life." Berkeley wrote off immediately to the king and Hammond; he then sent to request an interview with Cromwell, who answered that he durst not see him, but assured him "that he would serve the king as long as he could without his own ruin." Berkeley,

on returning to the king, found that, in reliance on a negotiation he was engaged in with the Scottish commissioners, he had no thoughts of making an escape.

Charles had all along been importuning the parliament for a personal treaty; and at length, on the 24th of December, commissioners of both houses presented him four bills, his assent to which was required as preliminary to such a treaty. By the first the parliament was to have the command of the army for twenty years; and, even after this time, if the houses should consider the safety of the kingdom concerned, all their bills relating to the army and navy should be valid without the royal assent; the second declared all oaths, proclamations, etc., against the parliament during the war null and void; the third took away all titles of honour conferred since the 20th of May, 1642, and no future peers were to sit without consent of parliament; the fourth gave to the house the power of adjourning at their discretion.

The Scottish commissioners had made all the opposition in their power to these bills; and, finding they could not prevent their passing, they hurried to Carisbrooke, where they arrived a day before the messengers sent by the parliament, and by making vague concessions on both sides, the long-agitated treaty was finally agreed to and signed. Charles, in consequence, peremptorily rejected the four bills: but, as his object now was to effect his escape as soon as possible, he delivered his answer sealed up. The commissioners, however, insisting on knowing its contents, he was obliged to read it to them and Hammond. Though he expressly stipulated that it should cause no difference in his treatment, Hammond instantly dismissed his servants and doubled the guards. Charles had in fact intended to escape that very night to a ship sent by the queen, which lay off the island, but he was by these new precautions prevented. A royalist officer, named Burley, then endeavoured to raise the people, storm the castle, and liberate the king: but the project failed, and Burley was soon after tried and executed as a traitor.

Shortly after the return of their commissioners, on the 3d of January, 1648, the parliament, after a long debate, voted to make no more addresses to the king, and to receive no more messages from him; that, if any person communicated with him without leave, he should be guilty of high treason; and that the committee of public safety should be renewed, and have no foreign (*i. e.*, Scottish) coadjutors. This was, in effect, dethroning the king. Cromwell is said to have declared in the debate, that "the king was a man of great parts and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler and so false a man that he was not to be trusted." A declaration was presented from the army on the 11th, expressing their resolution "to stand by the parliament in the things then voted." The houses also put forth a declaration, in which all the charges ever made against the king were reiterated, including the odious one of being accessory to the murder of his father.*

Yet, though Charles was a close prisoner, his cause was far from being hopeless. The great body of the people were in favour of retaining the original constitution; they saw how they had been deluded; they were oppressed with heavier taxation than they had ever known before, and subjected to the insolence and tyranny of local committees, though the war had long been ended; and they beheld before them every prospect of a military despotism. The general wish, therefore, was for a personal treaty with the king. But the commonwealth's men in the parliament and the army were resolved on the abolition of monarchy, as they had found in Scripture that it was a thing bad in itself and condemned of God. Ludlow tells us that Cromwell procured a conference between them and the grandees of the house and army, in which the latter "kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a mo-

* "Mr. Selden told the house that he was one of the committee to examine the business of poisoning King James, in the Duke of Buckingham's time, but could find nothing at all reflecting on the king, and therefore moved the house that that article might be deserted."—Clarendon State Papers, ii, App. 45.

narchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of these might be good in themselves or for us, according as Providence should direct us." Ludlow opposed all their reasons; but Cromwell, whose only object had been to learn the state of feeling and opinion among them, declared he was unresolved; and, flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head, ran down stairs pursuing him with another.

The friends of the monarchy in Scotland, headed by Hamilton, were, in the mean time, exerting themselves to have the treaty carried into effect, and an army raised in aid of the royal cause. But the clergy, finding that Presbytery was to be established only for three years in England, with liberty of dissent for the king himself and all others, thundered from their pulpits against the Engagement, as it was named, and pronounced a curse on all who should share in the war. The levies, therefore, went on slowly; and the English royalists, who were to have risen at the time the Scots appeared, lost patience, and took to arms in various parts.

The first person who raised the royal standard in the second civil war, which now commenced (on the 3d of March), was Colonel Poyer, governor of Pembroke for the parliament. He was joined by Laugherne and Powell, two colonels whose men had been disbanded, but had now returned to their standards. They took Chepstow, besieged Carnarvon, and defeated Colonel Fleming. Cromwell, however, appeared on the 8th of May, besieged them in Pembroke, and forced them to surrender. The royalists next rose in Kent on the 23d; and some ships of war in the river declaring for the king, went over to the Hague to be placed under the command of the prince. Fairfax, however, routed the royalists at Maidstone on the 1st of June, and Goring, earl of Norwich, who the next day appeared at Blackheath, hoping to be admitted by the discontented citizens, found his hopes baffled by the prudence of the parliamentary leaders, who had released the aldermen, discharged the impeachment against the six lords, and allowed the excluded members to resume their seats. He therefore

crossed the river and threw himself into Colchester, where he was soon after besieged by Fairfax.

At length the Scottish army, led by Hamilton, entered England on the 8th of July. Owing to the opposition of the clergy, it did not exceed 14,000 men, and these indifferently armed and ill-supplied with artillery. It was followed, however, by 3000 veterans from the army in Ireland, under Munro, and a body of 4000 gallant royalists, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, preceded it. But Hamilton, though brave, was no general. Instead of pursuing Lambert, the parliamentary general, who retired from the siege of Carlisle at his approach, he wasted forty days in a march of eighty miles into Lancashire, and thus gave time for Cromwell, who had reduced Pembroke, to come and join Lambert. Hamilton's army, also, was scattered over such an extent of country as almost to render it ineffective. The English royalists, on the 18th of August, were attacked at Preston by the parliamentary army of nine thousand men. They fought with such intrepidity, that, had they been supported by the Scots in the slightest degree, they would probably have obtained the victory: but the irresolute duke knew not how to act; and, when the royalists retired into the town, they found that their Scottish allies had abandoned their artillery and baggage, and were in full retreat. Langdale then directed his infantry to disperse, and, with his cavalry, swam over the Ribble, Hamilton accompanying his flight. Baillie surrendered with the Scottish infantry at Warrington on the 20th, the duke gave himself up to Lambert at Utoxeter on the 25th, and Langdale, travelling in disguise, was taken near Nottingham. Such was the termination of this ill-managed expedition.

While the Scots were on their way to England, a feeble attempt to rouse the people of London was made by the Earl of Holland, who had once more veered round to the side of royalty. Leaving his house in the city at the head of five hundred horse, on the 5th of July he marched to Kingston, whence he sent messages to the parliament and common

council, calling on them to join him in putting an end to the calamities of the nation. But he was attacked and routed on the 7th; and, flying to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, was there obliged to surrender on the 10th.

Colchester, though defended only by a low rampart of earth, had been gallantly maintained for nearly three months. The distress in the town had become extreme, and all the horses, and even the dogs and cats, had been consumed for food; when at length (the officers having vainly urged their men to follow them in an attempt to break through the besiegers' lines) they were obliged to surrender at discretion on the 28th of August, quarter being granted to the privates.* The Earl of Norwich, and the lords Capel and Loughborough, were among those who surrendered. Fairfax held a council of war, which condemned Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne to instant death. Lucas was first shot: when he fell, Lisle ran up and kissed his dead body, and desired the soldiers to draw nearer. "I'll warrant, you, sir," said one of them, "we'll hit you." "Friends," he replied, with a smile, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me." They fired, and he fell dead. Gascoigne, who, it appeared, was a Tuscan by birth, was respited. This execution is certainly a stain on the character of Fairfax. It was said that Ireton urged him to it.

The Prince of Wales, who had taken command of the revolted fleet, sailed over to the Downs on the 20th of July with nineteen ships. Here he lay for six weeks, soliciting the city by letters. The king

* A few days before the surrender of Colchester, 500 women were sent out of the town: but the besiegers fired blank cartridge at them to drive them back; the garrison again refused to let them in; the besiegers would not permit them to pass their lines, and we have no account of what became of them. On the 19th, a woman with five children, one at the breast, came, and, falling on her knees before the guards, begged to be allowed to pass the line: "but they were forced," says Whitelock, "to turn her back again, lest hundreds more should follow her, to the prejudice of the service."

wished that they should come and liberate him, but the sailors insisted on fighting. The parliamentary commanders, however, cautiously avoided an engagement, and want of provisions at length obliged the prince's fleet to return to Holland.

The Presbyterian party, as we have seen, had recovered their preponderance in parliament; the vote of non-address was therefore repealed on the 28th of July, and a personal treaty agreed on: but nothing was done till the intelligence of Cromwell's success in the north warned them that the army party might soon regain their influence. They then, on the 1st of September, appointed five lords and ten commoners to conduct the negotiation, which was to continue for forty days. The king, on giving his word that he would not attempt to escape during that time, nor for twenty days after, was allowed to reside at a private house in the town of Newport. He was likewise permitted to have his servants, his chaplains, and such of his councillors as had not shared in the war: but none of them were suffered to take any part in the deliberations, though the king might retire to consult with them. The terms proposed were again the same in substance as those offered to him at Hampton Court, and from which the parliament would not, perhaps could not, make any essential abatement. "Consider, Mr. Buckley," said the king to one of them, "if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, 'There has been a fray and no fray;' and, being asked how that could be, 'Why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I have had them all.'" The mental powers displayed by the king in this treaty astonished the commissioners. "The king is wonderfully improved," said Lord Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick. "No, my lord, it is your lordship who has too late discerned what he always was," was the reply. Sir Henry Vane told Sir Edward Walker that they had been much deceived in the character of the king, whom they had considered as a weak man: "but now," says he, "that we find

him to be a person of great parts and abilities, we must the more consider our own security, for he is only the more dangerous."

As the commissioners had no power to concede any point, all the king's objections and proposals had to be transmitted to London, which, of course, caused considerable delay. Charles himself also was too fond of discussion, in which he knew that he excelled. After long debates, however, he acceded to most of their demands. He consented to recall all his proclamations against the parliament, and thus to admit that it had taken up arms in its just defence; he surrendered the militia, the chief offices of state, and the government of Ireland for twenty years; and finally he agreed to accept £100,000 a year for the court of wards, to recognise the parliament's great seal, and to make no peers without consulting the two houses. But on two points he was firm: he would not abandon the individuals, seven in number, whom they had selected as victims to their vengeance; nor would he abolish Episcopacy, although he consented to suspend it for three years, and to cut off all dignities above or below that of bishop, whose powers should be limited to ordination, with the advice of the presbyters. The church-lands he would not consent to alienate, but he would permit the present possessors to hold leases of them for life, or for ninety-nine years.

While matters were thus delayed, the army was advancing, and the real views of the Independents were every day becoming more manifest. Early in September, a petition from "thousands of well-affected persons in and near London" had informed the parliament of what they expected; which was, that they should make good the supremacy of the people against all pretences of a negative voice in king or lords; that they should have elections annually, and, of course, without writ or summons; that the parliament should not sit longer than forty or fifty days, and that it should have no compulsive power in matters of religion; that kings, queens, princes, dukes, earls, and all persons, should be alike liable to every law of the

land; that proceedings in law should be shortened, and the charges made certain; that all the late enclosures should be opened, or be kept only for the benefit of the poor; that all monopolies should be abolished, and all taxes, except subsidies, taken off; the case of the many thousands ruined by perpetual imprisonment for debt should be considered, and provision made for their enlargement; that tithes should be abolished, etc. This petition did not go the full length of demanding the abolition of monarchy and nobility, but it concluded with stating that the petitioners had expected the parliament "to have laid to heart the abundance of innocent blood that hath been spilled, and the infinite spoil and havoc that hath been made of peaceable, harmless people by express commission from the king, and to have seriously considered whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or his yet remaining wrath to be appeased by an act of oblivion." The meaning of this last hint was plain enough. Some time after, on the 18th of October, Ireton's regiment petitioned the general that justice might be done on the contrivers and encouragers of the late rebellion and second war; "that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of king or lord as in the person of the poorest commoner;" and that whoever should act or speak in the king's behalf, till he had been acquitted of the guilt of shedding innocent blood, should be considered as a traitor. The petition of Ingoldsby's regiment, which was presented on the 30th, spoke of "an immediate care that justice be done upon the principal invaders of all their liberties, namely, the king and his party;" and required the re-establishment of the general council of the army to consider of some effectual remedies. Finally, on the 20th of November, came the "Large Remonstrance of the Army," demanding an immediate reading, and insisting that the treaty should be broken off, and the king brought to justice, "as the capital cause of all." They desired that a period should be set to this parliament, and that a new one should be elected, according to rules which they would

lay down: this to be the supreme power, and future kings to be *elected* by it. "These things they press as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill because from an army, and so servants, when their masters are servants and trustees for the kingdom." A long debate ensued on this insolent petition; it was adjourned, and, when resumed on the 30th, the question of taking the petition into speedy consideration was decided in the negative by a majority of sixty-seven voices.

The commissioners were still with the king, for the period of the negotiation had been extended. Both they and his friends were urgent with him to concede more, in order to save himself from the army. Hammond being summoned at this time to headquarters, and Colonel Ewers sent to secure the person of the king, the latter could no longer be blind to the ulterior designs of the army. His firmness therefore gave way, and on the 27th he consented to abandon his friends, provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws, and to suspend the functions of the bishops, and vest their lands in the crown till religion should be settled by the king and parliament. The next morning, when the commissioners were taking leave of him, Charles is said* to have addressed them in these words: "My lords, I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again. But God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them that plot against me and mine, but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretence of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends." Hammond departed with the commissioners, and the

* Evelyn's Memoirs, ii., 128.

king was again confined in Carisbrooke Castle, under the charge of one Boreman, an officer of militia.

It is to be feared that even in this treaty Charles was not sincere. In a letter to Ormond, who was now in Ireland negotiating with the Catholics, he tells him not to be startled at his concessions, which would come to nothing, and desires him to follow not his, but the queen's directions. Four days after, when pressed to disavow Ormond's powers, he assured the commissioners that, since the first votes for the treaty, he had transacted no business relating to Ireland with any but themselves. He was also at the same time meditating an escape, and corresponded anxiously on this matter with Sir William Hopkins, who commanded a ship opposite Newport. In one letter, dated October 9, he says, "To deal freely with you, the great concession I made to-day was merely in order to my escape, of which, if I had not hopes, I would not have done; for then I could have returned to my strait prison without reluctance; but now I confess it would break my heart, having done that which nothing but an escape would justify." It is hence supposed that his intention was to get over to Ireland, and renew the war at the head of the Catholic insurgents. But this is not a necessary inference: he might have only designed to go to the Continent, and there wait to see the turn events might take. As to his parole, he seems to have considered himself released from it, as the conditions on which he gave it had not, he maintained, been kept.

We have seen from the king's words to the commissioners that he had apprehensions for his life. We are told, in fact, that some days before Sir Philip Killegrew had come privately from Windsor, at the risk, as he said, of going "to prison or to pot," and informed him of the design of the army to seize him, bring him to trial, and put him to death. But Charles could hardly credit the intelligence. The evening after the departure of the commissioners, however, a person in disguise told one of his servants that the army would seize on him that night. Charles con-

sulted with his friends. They urged an immediate escape, as the night was dark, and Colonel Coke knew the watchword: but Charles had been induced to renew his parole. "They have promised me," said he, "and I will not break first." He retired to rest about midnight, and soon after Colonel Cobbett arrived with a troop of horse and a company of foot. At five the king was awakened by a summons to depart. He was placed in a coach and conveyed to a block-house named Hurst Castle, which stood on a rock in the sea, joined by a causeway two miles in length to the coast of Hampshire.

The proceedings of the army at this time were as follows: The officers having "spent a day (the 26th) wholly in prayer," entered into consultation on the best mode of giving effect to the contents of their Remonstrance; and a petition at the same time reached them from the army of the North, calling for justice on delinquents. This petition was forwarded and supported by Cromwell. The very day on which the king was seized, and their Remonstrance rejected (that is, the 30th), they published a Declaration against the house of commons; in which, charging the majority with "apostacy from the public trust reposed in them," they appealed from them "unto the extraordinary judgment of God and good people." They called on "so many of them as God hath kept upright" to withdraw from the others; and added, that the army was drawing up to London, "there to follow Providence as God shall clear their way." Two days after, on the 2d of December, they arrived and took up their headquarters in St. James's, the Mews, Whitehall, York House, and other houses, and in the suburban villages.

The commons, led by the intrepid Hollis, showed no want of spirit on this occasion; and, after a violent debate of three days, in which Pierrepoint, Fiennes, and Prynne distinguished themselves as the advocates of monarchy against Vane and the republicans, it was carried, on the 5th of December, by a majority of forty-six, that the king's concessions were

"sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom." But their triumph was short. Ludlow and his party went and consulted with the officers; and the next day, the 6th, their guard of train-bands were dismissed, and the colonels Rich and Pride, the one with a regiment of horse, and the other with one of foot, took their place. Pride stood in the lobby with a list of names in his hand; and, when the members were pointed out to him as they passed by one of the door-keepers, or by Lord Grey of Groby, he seized them and sent them away prisoners to various places. About forty members were thus *secured*, as it was termed, on this day; on the following days other members were *secluded*, or forbidden to enter the house; and these imprisonments and seclusions, joined with the absence of those who retired to the country, reduced the house to about fifty members, afterward styled the Rump,* as the process of depletion itself was termed Pride's Purge.

During all this time Cromwell was absent, but his place was well supplied by Ireton. After the victory at Preston, he had advanced and besieged Berwick; whence, on the invitation of Argyle and his party,† he proceeded on the 30th of September to Edinburgh. Leaving Lambert there with two regiments to support his friends, he returned to England, where he engaged in the siege of Pontefract, which was held by the royalists; and he did not return to London till the day after the seizure of the members, when, on the motion of Henry Marten, the thanks of the house were voted to him for his late services in the North. "He declared," says Ludlow, "that he had not been acquainted with this design: yet, since it was done, he was glad of it, and would maintain it."

* It seems to have been Walker who first gave it this name. "This fag-end," says he, "this *rump* of a parliament, with corrupt maggots in it."

† The people of the western counties, each parish headed by its minister, had marched to Edinburgh and expelled the committee of estates. This was called the *Whigamores' Raid:* for so the western peasantry were named, from the word *Whig*, it is said, which they used in driving their horses.

The miserable remnant who presumed to call themselves the commons of England now voted everything that their military masters prescribed.* They rescinded their late votes, and renewed that of non-address; and when, on the 11th, the secluded members drew up a protest against the late violence on their persons, and declared all acts, votes, etc., made or to be made during their absence void, they, on the 15th (the lords pusillanimously joining them), voted it to be "false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of this kingdom." How different their conduct had been in regard to the votes passed between the 26th of July and the 6th of August! Yet these are the men whom we have been called on to admire as models of pure virtue and disinterested patriotism.†

The very same day, the 11th, a piece called "The Agreement of the People," drawn up, as usual, by Ireton, was presented to the general by the council of officers. It was a plan of government, the same in substance with their late Remonstrance. On the 22d both houses kept the usual solemn fast. Hugh Peters, says Walker, "acted a sermon before them." His subject was Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt, which he applied in the usual manner to the present times, the grandees being Moses, etc. "But how," cries he, "is this to be done? That is not yet reavealed unto me." He then, according to the same authority, laid his head on the cushion, covering his

* The caustic Walker calls the parliament "a mere free-school, where Cromwell is head schoolmaster, Ireton usher, and that cipher Fairfax a propositor." "Surely," he adds, "these men are either the supreme judges, or the supreme rebels and tyrants of the kingdom." It should be recorded, to the honour of Sir Henry Vane, that he had no share in the subsequent iniquitous proceedings. He retired to his castle of Raby when the house was purged.

† Ludlow (ii., 353) says of the secluded members, "they had been expelled the house by more than a quorum of lawful members," or, as he elsewhere (p. 369) expresses it, "by those that had an undisputed authority over their own members." He seems to have had strange notions of parliamentary authority.

eyes with his hands. At length he started up. "Now I have it," cried he, "by revelation; now I shall tell you. This army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about; this army is that corner-stone cut out of the mountain which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces." The objection of the deed which he recommended being without precedent, he obviated by referring to the case of the birth of our Lord. "This," said he, "is an age to make examples and precedents in." The next day there was a great debate about bringing the great delinquents to a speedy punishment. "And now," says Whitelock, "was set on foot and begun their great design of taking away the king, whom divers in the debate did not stick to name for the greatest delinquent." There were some who maintained that a king could not be brought to justice by his subjects; but they saw, from the fierceness of their adversaries, that if they opposed they would only be secluded, and their constancy gave way. It was then attempted to throw the business on the army. "But they were subtle enough," says the same author, "to see and avoid that, and to make those whom they left sitting in the parliament to be their *stales* (decoys) and do their dirty work for them." A committee of thirty-eight was voted to consider how they should proceed against the king. In the debate, Cromwell is said to have expressed himself as follows: "If any man moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but, since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I shall pray to God to bless your councils, though I am not provided on the sudden to give you counsel."*

* It is said that he closed this singular address with the following words: "Even I myself, when I was offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; and considered this supernatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications." The following passage of Scripture was a favourite text with the violent political preachers of the day: "Let the saints be joyful in glory: let them sing aloud upon their beds.

On the 1st of January, 1649, the commons voted that it is treason in a king of England to levy war against the parliament and people; and the next day an ordinance which they had passed for the trial of the king was sent to the upper house. The lords, who, in anticipation of what was to come, had ordered the attendance of all the members of their house, and who, therefore, now mustered sixteen, rejected the ordinance unanimously.† The commons then, on the 4th, voted themselves to be the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them is law, without the concurrence of king or lords; and, on the 6th, they passed the ordinance for the trial of their sovereign.

This unhappy prince was now at Windsor. On the 18th of December, at midnight, the sound of the fall of the drawbridge and the trampling of horses awoke him from his sleep; and, on inquiring the cause, he learned that Colonel Harrison had arrived. The king was troubled. "Do you not know," said he to Herbert, who waited on him, "that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty? This is a place fit for such a purpose." Charles, however, had been misinform-

Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hand; to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written: this honour have all his saints." Psal. cxlix., 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.—*Am. Ed.*

† "The parliament of England, by the fundamental laws," said the Earl of Manchester, "consists of three estates, king, lords, and commons. The king is the first and chief estate; he calls and dissolves parliaments, and without him there can he no parliament; therefore it is absurd to say the king can he a traitor against the parliament." "*The greatest part* ('at least twenty to one,' adds Walker) *of the people of England,*" said the Earl of Northumberland, "*are not yet satisfied whether the king levied war first against the houses, or the houses against him. And if the king did levy war first against the houses, we have no law to make it treason in him so to do; and for us to declare treason by an ordinance when the matter of fact is not yet proved, nor any law extant to judge it by, is very unreasonable.*"

ed: Harrison was a fanatic, but no assassin. He had come to conduct him to London, which office he executed with all due respect. The royal captive now felt his condition sadly altered: the usual ceremony no longer surrounded him; even his meat was brought to table, uncovered, by the hands of the rude soldiers. This treatment mortified him greatly. He had various hints, too, of the meditated proceedings against him; yet, so sanguine was his temper, that he was actually cheerful; he had still hopes from Ireland and Scotland, and from foreign princes; and he could not believe it possible that his subjects would bring him to a public trial. On this point, however, he was soon undeceived; for, on the 19th of January, he was conducted to St. James's, preparatory to his trial the next day.

The individuals at Westminster who took on themselves to act in the name of the people of England, had, in their ordinance of the 4th of January, nominated one hundred and thirty-five persons, members of the house, officers of the army, lawyers, and citizens, to form a High Court of Justice for the trial of the king: John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law, was appointed president; Dr. Dorislaus, and Messrs. Steele, Aske, and Cooke, counsellors to the court; Sergeant Dandy, sergeant-at-arms; and Mr. Phelps, clerk.*

On Saturday, the 20th, the king's trial (or, more properly, perhaps, the form of legal proceedings deemed necessary to give a colour of justice to his condemnation) was opened at Westminster Hall, which had been prepared for the occasion. At the upper end, in a chair of crimson velvet, sat the president, Bradshaw, his broad-brimmed beaver, lined with plates of iron for security, covering his head; and a desk and velvet cushion placed before him. At a table below him, covered with a rich Turkey carpet, on which lay the sword and mace, sat the two clerks of the court. The members of the court, about seventy in number, sat in their best habits, and with their

* See Appendix (B).

hats on their heads, on side benches covered with scarlet. A seat of crimson velvet was placed within the bar, opposite that of the president, for the royal prisoner. The galleries and the lower part of the hall were filled with spectators.

Charles was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, and thence by water to Westminster Hall; and it is worthy of notice, that the watermen insisted on rowing him bareheaded. He was conducted into the hall by the colonels Tomlinson and Hacker, and a guard armed with partisans:* the sergeant-at-arms advanced to receive him, and led him to his seat. Charles looked steadily round on the court and the spectators, and then sat down: he rose again, looked over the hall, and resumed his seat. Bradshaw addressed his sovereign, informing him that "the commons of England assembled in parliament" had, in pursuance of their duty, and in consequence of the bloodshed and calamities brought on the kingdom, of which he was regarded as the author, constituted this court for his trial. Cooke then, in the name of the commons of England, accused Charles Stuart of high treason and misdemeanours, and desired the charge to be read to him. The king was about to reply, but the president stopped him; and the clerk then read the charge. After stating that, having been "trusted with a limited power to govern by, and according to the laws of the land, and not otherwise," he had attempted "to rule according to his will," and with this design "had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and the people therein represented," it enumerated all the battles in which the king had been present, charging him with all the blood shed in them, etc., etc. "And the said John Cooke," it proceeded, "doth, for the said treason and crimes, on behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." The king often smiled

* A sort of pike or halbert.

during the reading of the charge, especially at the words "tyrant, traitor," etc. Bradshaw then informed him that the court expected him to reply to the charge. Charles demanded by what power he had been brought thither. "I would know," said he, "by what lawful authority—there are many unlawful authorities, thieves and robbers on the highway—I was brought from the Isle of Wight, and carried from place to place?" He reminded them that he was their lawful king, and declared that he would not betray the trust "committed to him by God, and old and lawful descent," by answering to "a new, unlawful authority." Bradshaw told him the authority was that of the people of England, "of whom he was *elected* king." "I deny that," replied the king; "England never was an elective kingdom." "I see no house of lords here," said he; "that should constitute a house of parliament, and the king, too, should have been here." Bradshaw replied, "We are satisfied with our authority that are your judges, and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's." He then adjourned the court till Monday.

On that day (the 22d) the court sat again. The king was desired to answer the charge against him; he again denied the authority of the court, and asserted that, as a king, he could not be tried. "But," said he, "it is not my case alone; it is the freedom and the liberties of the people of England; and do *you* pretend what you will, *I* stand more for their liberties: for, if power without law may make laws, nay, alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or anything he calls his own." To all the reasons and arguments of the king Bradshaw's reply was, that prisoners were not to dispute the authority of their judges. The court was adjourned to the next day, on which the proceedings were of a similar nature; and on Saturday, the 27th, it held its final sitting, the intermediate days having been occupied in hearing witnesses in evidence of the king's having been in arms. Sixty-seven commis-

sioners were present. As the king passed up the hall, a cry of "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" was raised by some of the soldiers and rabble. When addressed by the president, he said he should now wave all farther defence, as he saw it was useless, and "an ugly sentence," he doubted not, would pass on him: but, as he had something to say which concerned the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, he desired, before sentence was given, to be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the lords and commons. They thereupon retired to consult: in about an hour they returned with a peremptory refusal of his request; the king then declared that he had nothing more to say; and Bradshaw now made a long speech in proof of the king's misgovernment, and of kings being accountable to their people. As soon as he had concluded, the clerk read the sentence, adjudging the monarch to death as a traitor, murderer, etc., and all the commissioners present stood up in evidence of their assent. "Will you hear me a word, sir?" said the king, addressing himself to Bradshaw. "Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence." "No, sir!" "No, sir, by your favour, sir. Guards, withdraw your prisoner." "I may speak after the sentence, by *your* favour, sir! I may speak after sentence is over! By *your* favour, hold! The sentence, sir! I say, sir! I do, I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have." As he passed out, the cry of "Justice! execution!" again assailed his ears, and various insults were offered him. A soldier ventured to cry out, "God bless you, sir!" for which his officer struck him with his cane. "The punishment, methinks," said Charles, "exceeds the offence." He afterward asked Herbert if he had remarked the cry for "justice." He replied that he had, and wondered at it. "So did not I," said the king, "for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me. The cry was no doubt given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like were there occasion."

The following incidents which occurred during the

trial are deserving of notice. When the name of Fairfax, as one of the commissioners, was called, a female voice from the gallery was heard to reply, "He has more wit than to be here;" and when the charges against the king were made in the name of the commons and the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "It is a lie! not a quarter of the people! Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor." The speaker was masked; Colonel Axtell even directed his men to fire on the gallery; there was great confusion, and the lady withdrew. It was now discovered to be Lady Fairfax, a rigid Presbyterian. While the king was leaning on his cane or staff, as it was then called, the silver head fell off and rolled on the ground. The circumstance appeared ominous to Charles, and he was evidently disturbed. He afterward owned to Bishop Juxon that "it really made a great impression on him."

On the king's return to Whitehall, he sent to the house, requesting, as the time of his execution might be nigh, that he might be permitted to see his children, and that Dr. Juxon might be private with him, to give him the sacrament. His request was acceded to (Hugh Peters, to his honour, exerting his influence in his favour), and Juxon preached before him that night. The next day, being Sunday, the 28th, the commissioners kept their fast in the chapel at Whitehall, and the king employed himself in private devotion with Dr. Juxon. In the course of the day, a book of proposals from the grandees of the army and parliament was tendered to him, on his signing which they promised him his life and regal state. By this he was to put the militia into their hands, with the right to maintain it on its present footing, and to lay a tax on the kingdom for its pay, to be levied by the army itself. Charles, it is said, threw it indignantly from him, declaring that he would rather become a sacrifice for his people than betray their laws and liberties, lives and estates, to the bondage of an armed faction.

On Monday, the 29th, the king was removed to St. James's, whither his two children, the Princess Eliz-

abeth and the Duke of Gloucester, were brought to him from Sion House. As was to be expected from the strength of Charles's domestic affections, the meeting was a most tender one. He gave them a few presents, charged the princess to assure her mother of his unceasing affection, and told her that "his death was glorious, for he should die for the laws and liberties of the land: he should die a martyr." His nephew the elector palatine, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and other noblemen, came to the chamber door, entreating admission, that they might take a last farewell of their sovereign; but Charles declined seeing them, wishing to devote the little time that remained to him to his children and his devotions.

Ambassadors sent from Holland to intercede for the king had an audience, but no answer was returned from the house. They were accompanied by Sir John Seymour, who was the bearer of letters from the prince to the king and the lord-general; and with the one addressed to the last was sent a blank paper, signed and sealed, in which the grandees might insert their own terms. This, however, produced no effect; the warrant for the execution was signed by fifty-nine commissioners, and directed to the colonels Hacker, Hunks, and Phayer. It is said that, as Cromwell was advancing to the table to sign it, he drew the pen in his hand across Marten's face and marked him with the ink, and that Marten returned the compliment.

During the last night of his life Charles slept soundly for four hours. About two hours before dawn he opened his curtains, and by the light of "a great cake of wax set in a silver basin," he saw that Herbert's rest was disturbed, and awoke him. Herbert said that he had been dreaming that Laud entered the room and knelt before the king; that they then conversed, the king looked pensive, Laud sighed, and, as he retired, fell prostrate on the ground. "It is very remarkable," said Charles; "but he is dead; had we now conferred together, 'tis very likely—albeit I loved him well—I should have said something to him might have occasioned his sigh." He then said he

would rise, "for he had a great work to do that day." Herbert trembled as he combed his hair. "Though it be not long to stand on my shoulders," said the king, "take the same pains with it as you were wont to do. Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim as may be." He put on a second shirt: "for," said he, "the season is sharp, and probably may make me shake, which some will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death; death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared; let the rogues come." When dressed, he spent an hour in private with the bishop.

At ten o'clock Colonel Hacker announced that it was time to proceed to Whitehall. Charles went on foot, at his usual quick pace, through the park, calling to the guard, "March on apace!" He was conducted to his own bedchamber at Whitehall, and Sir John Seymour was there permitted to present him the prince's letter. A repast had been prepared. As he had received the Eucharist, he declined taking any other food in this world; but, at the suggestion of the bishop, he ate about noon half a manchet and drank a glass of claret. Soon after, Hacker came with the warrant and called for the king. Charles rose, and with Hacker, Tomlinson (whom he had entreated not to leave him), and the bishop, proceeded through the long gallery, which was lined with soldiers, their faces testifying their respect and sorrow. Through the central window of the banqueting-house he stepped out on the scaffold, which was hung with black; two executioners in masks stood on it; regiments of horse and foot were stationed beneath; and the streets were thronged with anxious spectators. Charles looked towards St. James's with a smile: he then regarded earnestly the block, and asked "if there were no place higher."

He addressed himself to those about him on the scaffold, justifying himself, and referring to dates of commissions and declarations to prove that it was the parliament which had begun the war: yet he hoped, he said, that they too might be guiltless, as there had

been ill instruments between him and them. He owned, however, that he suffered justly, as an unjust sentence which he had allowed to take effect* was now punished by an unjust sentence on himself. He proceeded to show them how they were "out of the way" in what they were doing; and exhorted them to give God, the king, and the people their due. The liberty of the last, he said, consisted not in having a share in the government, but "in laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own." "Sirs," said he, "it was for this that I am now come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I need not to have come here, and therefore I tell you that *I am the martyr of the people.*" At the desire of the bishop, he declared that he died a member of the Church of England.

Though Charles did not fear death, he disliked pain. He interrupted his speech when one touched the axe, and said, "Hurt not the axe that may hurt me;" when another approached it, he cried, "Take heed of the axe! take heed of the axe!" and, turning to Hacker, he said, "Take care that they do not put me to pain." To the executioner he said, "I shall say but very short prayers, and then thrust out my hands."

Having taken a white satin cap from the bishop, and put his hair up under it, he said, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." "There is but one stage more," said the prelate; "this stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort." "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown," said Charles, "where no disturbance can be." "You are," replied the bishop, "exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown—a good exchange." The king gave his cloak and George to the prelate, saying, *Remember.*

* Alluding to the sentence against Strafford, which seems to have troubled him greatly, and especially after his own condemnation.—*Am. Ed.*

He knelt down, gave the sign, and one blow of the axe terminated his mortal existence. A deep groan arose from the multitude,* and many ran to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood: but two troops of horse were immediately set in motion to clear the streets. The royal corpse, after being embalmed, was deposited at Windsor, in the vault which contained the remains of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour.†

In this manner perished Charles Stuart, in the forty-ninth year of his age, by a sentence hitherto unexampled in the annals of the world. In his person Charles was vigorous and handsome; his health was robust, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His aspect was pensive; he had a slight hesitation in his speech, and his general manner was cold and ungracious. When we consider the profligacy of the court in which he was brought up, we may well wonder at the general purity of his morals, and admire in him the force of nature. At the same time, we must not, with his idolaters, pretend that he had escaped all pollution. He was not, for example, free from the common vice of profane swearing, and his language was at times very indelicate. Like all of his race, Charles bore adversity better than prosperity. Affliction gave a lustre to his character; he gained the respect and sincere attachment of those who, like Herbert, were set about him by the parliament; and certainly the man who could do this could not have been in disposition unamiable. His religion was of too ceremonial a cast, and akin to superstition. Had he been born in a private station, it is probable he would have been generally respected, though loved, perhaps, by few. He had, however, greater failings than any yet alluded to. He was uxorious, and scandalously subser-

* "At the instant," says Henry, the celebrated divine, who was present at the execution, "when the blow was given, there was such a dismal, universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight, as it were with one consent, as he never heard before, and desired he might never hear the like again."—*Am. Ed.*

† See Appendix (C).

vient to a worthless, selfish woman; he was, too, by nature a despot, though not a tyrant. In his despotism, however, both in church and state, he considered himself to be only exercising the just authority with which God had invested him; and it will be difficult to point out any of his acts which had not the sanction either of positive law, or of the practice of former kings and the ancient prerogative of the crown. But the greatest blemish in the character of this prince was his insincerity.* When his fancied rights and prerogative were in question, neither his word nor his oath could be trusted; he had an unfortunate system of casuistry which released him from the most solemn obligations; and in his eyes truth and honour were as nothing compared with the duty of ruling uncontrolled as the vicegerent of the Deity. It was this blemish, beyond doubt, which mainly caused his untimely fate.

If murder be the deliberate taking away of human life without the sentence of a previously recognised law, then was the execution of King Charles a murder in the fullest sense of the term. The solemn mockery of the forms of justice used on the occasion only adds to its atrocity; for surely none of his judges could have contemplated giving him a fair trial, since such supposes the possibility of the prisoner's proving his iunocence. But, had Charles's self-constituted judges acquitted him, they must, at the same time, have condemned themselves: for if *he* should be pronounced innocent of the charges against him, what would *they* appear but rebels and traitors?† To call themselves the representatives of the people of England, and to act in their name, was the very summit

* Hume could hardly have been serious when he wrote as follows: "Some persons have rashly questioned the good faith of this prince: but for this reproach the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which in every circumstance is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation."

† "I tell you," said Cromwell to Algernon Sidney, "we will cut off his head with the crown on it." This was early in the month of January: so the faction had already determined what they would do.

of audacity. The people of England were guiltless of the blood of their sovereign, which was shed by a knot of military men, anxious to secure their own power or safety. Many of his so-called judges acted under the influence of fear, and secretly abhorred the deed which they were forced to commit. There were some, no doubt, whose motives were pure: such was Hutchinson, who sought counsel of the Lord in prayer, and, finding no check, conceived what he did to be approved by Heaven. Others, like Ludlow, bent on having a commonwealth, would see no excuse for the king, assumed his guilt, and took the municipal law of the Israelites for their guide and justification. It may even be true that Cromwell himself was of this number, and that he believed himself to be acting rightly.*

Shortly after the execution of the king, there appeared a work named Ikon Basiliké, or a "Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and his Sufferings," said to be written by the king himself. It passed through fifty editions in the course of a twelvemonth, and is held to have been of essential service to the royal cause. It is, however, but a poor performance, and is not the composition of the king. Its author is known to have been Dr. Gauden, who obtained a bishopric on account of it after the Restoration. The illustrious Milton was employed by the parliament to answer it. His reply is named Iconoclastes, or "Image-breaker."†‡

* See Appendix (D).

† See Appendix (E).

‡ The reader is probably prepared by this time to entertain but little respect either for Charles or his judges. The struggle against despotism had been nobly commenced, and no doubt with pure views and a patriotic desire to secure the public liberties. But this object was at length lost sight of amid the passions and interests which sprang up in course of the contest; unprincipled and bad men, under the name and pretence of freedom, acquired power, and, in the end, themselves established a tyranny no less odious and oppressive than that which they had been successful in subverting.—*Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER X.

THE COMMONWEALTH.*

1649–1653.

Commonwealth established.—Mutinies in the Army.—Affairs of Scotland.—Fate of Montrose.—Charles II. in Scotland.—Affairs of Ireland.—Cromwell in Scotland.—Battle of Dunbar.—Invasion of England.—Battle of Worcester.—Escape of Charles.—Conquest of Ireland.—Dutch War.—Designs of Cromwell; he dissolves the Parliament; its Character.

On the very day of the king's execution, the commons passed an act making it treason to proclaim the Prince of Wales, or any other, King of England or Ireland. On the 6th of February they voted, by a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine, that "the house of peers is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished;"† and on the following day it was resolved that the office of king is "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, etc., of the nation, and ought to be abolished." The next day (the 8th), the great seal was broken to pieces by order of the house, and in their presence, and a new one substituted, of which Whitelocke, Lisle, and Sergeant Keble were appointed lord-commissioners, to hold their office *quamdiu se bene gesserint* [*so long as they shall conduct well*]. Of the judges, six resigned, and the others consented to remain, provided the parliament would engage not to alter the fundamental laws. The King's Bench was thenceforth to be styled the Upper Bench; writs were to run in the name of the "Keep-

* Authorities same as for Charles I., with Thurloe, Milton, and Burton. See Appendix (F).

† The peers were allowed to retain their titles, but not their privileges: in return, they were made eligible to the house of commons, of which Pembroke, Salisbury, and Howard of Escrick took advantage.

ers of the liberty of England by the authority of parliament;" and an engagement to be true to the commonwealth of England took the place of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. To form an executive, five members of the house* were directed to select a certain number of persons, to constitute a Council of State.

While the commons were thus converting the ancient monarchy of England into a republic, a High Court of Justice was sitting in judgment on the royalists of rank who were prisoners in their hands. On the night after the death of the king, the Duke of Hamilton had made his escape from Windsor: but he was recognised and arrested by some troopers the next day, as he was knocking, in disguise, at an inn-gate in Southwark. Lord Capel also escaped out of the Tower: but he also was discovered and seized by two watermen at a house in Lambeth. On the 10th, these two noblemen, with Lord Norwich and Sir John Owen, were brought before a High Court of Justice, presided over by Bradshaw, and arraigned for treason. The duke, who was endicted as Earl of Cambridge, pleaded that he was of another nation, under an order of whose parliament he had acted: but to this it was replied, that he had sat and voted, and otherwise acted as an English peer. Lord Norwich and Owen simply pleaded not guilty. Capel pleaded the articles of Colchester: but Fairfax, Ireton, and Colonel Berksted asserted that these were only "to free him from immediate power of the sword to take his life." The court sat for several days. Lord Holland, who had been brought up from Warwick, was also put on his

* Namely, John Lisle, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Scot, Edmund Ludlow, and Luke Robinson: all regicides except the last. Godwin says, that "a remarkable delicacy was observed in this business," as "none of them had been habitually concerned in the conduct of public affairs." They were, however, as much concerned in them as most others. He adds, that these five were directed to nominate forty persons; and that (out of delicacy, no doubt) they did nominate only thirty-five, of course expecting, as it came to pass, that they themselves would be added. Ludlow's own account is more honourable to himself and friends.

trial on the 27th, when he alleged that quarter had been granted him. None of their pleas, however, availed; and on the 6th of March they were all sentenced to lose their heads. A petition was sent to the parliament the next day by Lady Holland and other ladies, which only procured, however, a respite of two days; and the following day other petitions were presented. The house then proceeded to decide on their several cases, when it was determined that the duke and Lord Capel should not be reprieved. In the cases of Holland and Norwich, the votes were equally divided; and the speaker, by his casting vote, condemned the former and saved the latter. Colonel Hutchinson, seeing Sir John Owen without any one to make an effort in his favour, took pity on him, and prevailed on Ireton to give him his interest; and, through their joint influence, he was saved by a majority of five.* Hamilton, Holland, and Capel were beheaded the next day (the 9th) in Palace-yard; they met their fate with courage and constancy, especially the last, who behaved, we are told, "like a stout Roman."

The new Council of State, when completed, consisted of forty-one members, of whom five were peers.† Bradshaw was chosen president, and the office of Latin secretary was bestowed on his kinsman, John Milton.‡ The council was appointed for a year; the army, navy, and ordnance were placed under its authority; and it had power to regulate trade and to negotiate with foreign states. The members were required to take an oath expressing their approval of all the late proceedings: but nineteen only (among whom fourteen were regicides) would subscribe it; and the remainder, headed by Fairfax and Vane, positively refused. A new form was therefore devised on the 22d of February, by which they were only required "to approve of what *shall be done* by the commons in parliament, the supreme authority of this nation."

* Life of Hutchinson, p. 307. † See Appendix (G).
‡ See Appendix (H).

This supreme authority was such a miserable remnant of the parliament of England, that they could not but feel ashamed and uneasy as they gazed on their shrunken dimensions. To increase their number, they consented to readmit such members as had not voted in the affirmative on the 5th of December, and who would record their dissent from the vote on that occasion on the journals; they also, from time to time, issued writs for new elections in places where their interest was strong, and thus their number gradually rose to about one hundred and fifty.

"Never," says the panegyrist of the heads of the republican party, "never did any governors enter upon their functions under more formidable difficulties than the men who now undertook to steer and direct the vessel of the new commonwealth. They were, in a certain sense, a handful of men, with the whole people of England against them." In these words he has, we think, pronounced their condemnation: for a handful of men had no right to take upon them to decide what form of government was best for the people of England, and to force it upon them by the swords of a fanatic soldiery. Against them were the royalists, who, though depressed, were numerous and wealthy; and the Presbyterians, whose hostility had been to the church, and not to the crown. On their side were their great personal qualities, the arms of upward of forty thousand soldiers, and the greater part of the Independents and the other minor religious sects.

The new government was, in fact, that species of tyranny denominated oligarchy; and depending, like all other tyrannies, on the power of the sword for its existence. But it was here that its chief source of danger lay: the fanatic principles of the levellers were widely spread among the Prætorian guards of the new commonwealth, and it was not long before they broke out into action. The fearless John Lilburne, the sworn foe to despotism of every kind, led the way, by a petition against the Agreement of the People. Petitions both from officers and soldiers, and

from the well affected in various parts, poured in, calling for annual parliaments with entirely new members; the enforcement of the self-denying ordinance; the abolition of the Council of State and the High Court of Justice; requiring also that legal proceedings should be in English; that the fees of lawyers should be reduced; that the excise and customs should be abolished, and the estates of delinquents sold; that liberty of conscience should be granted, tithes abolished, and fixed salaries of £100 a year settled on the ministers of the Gospel.

To quell the spirit of the army vigorous means were employed. Five troopers, the bearers of a remonstrance from different regiments, were sentenced by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse, have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered. Lilburne, who was keeping up a constant fire of pamphlets,* was, on the 29th of March, with his associates Walwyn, Prince, and Overton, committed to the Tower. Numerous petitions, especially from the women,† were presented in their favour, but without effect. Mutinies now broke out in the regiments destined for Ireland: the first was at Bishopsgate, in the city, where a troop of horse seized their colours and refused to march. For this five of them were sentenced to be shot: but, with the exception of one named Lockier, they were pardoned by the general. At the funeral of Lockier, on the 30th of April, the corpse, decked with bundles of rosemary dipped in blood, was preceded by one hundred men in files; six trumpeters, sounding a soldier's knell, went on each side of it; his horse, covered with mourning, was led after it; and then followed thousands of people, with sea-green

* "England's New Chains Discovered;" "A Second Part" of the same; and "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe Heath to Westminster, by five small Beagles," alluding to the five troopers, &c.

† "They were bid," says Walker, "to go home and wash their dishes, to which some of them replied, They had neither dishes nor meat left." A very different answer, he says, from what they used to receive "when they had money, plate, rings, bodkins, and thimbles to sacrifice to these legislative idols."

and black ribands at their breasts. The women brought up the rear; and thousands more of the better sort met them at the grave. This funeral convinced the government of the necessity of acting with energy, for the mutiny was rapidly spreading. A Captain Thompson, at the head of two hundred men, set forth at Banbury a manifesto styled "England's Standard Advanced." They were, however, surprised by Colonel Reynolds, on the 13th of May; when Thompson fled, and his men surrendered. A body of more than one thousand men marched from Salisbury to Burford, where Fairfax came up with them. At midnight Cromwell forced his way into the town, and made four hundred of them prisoners, several of whom were shot by sentence of a court-martial on the 19th, and the rest were pardoned. Thompson himself was slain shortly after at Wellingborough, and the mutiny was finally suppressed. On Cromwell's making a report to that effect to the house on the 26th, a general thanksgiving for so great a mercy was ordered.*

It is now time that we should take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland at this juncture. The parliament there, now under the control of Argyle, had sent instructions to their commissioners to protest against the trial and execution of the king: but it was evident that Argyle feared to offend; and the men who drove on that measure were not to be diverted from their purpose. No notice, therefore, was taken of the Scottish protest. When, on the 25th of February, tidings of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, the parliament forthwith proclaimed Charles II., provided he would take the covenant, and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms; and, when they found themselves treated with contempt by the

* There was another kind of levellers at this time, named the "Diggers," whose principle it was that the barren earth was to be made fruitful. They accordingly repaired to St. George's Hill, near Walton, in Surrey, and began to dig a common there, and to sow beans and other plants in it. Fairfax sent two troops of horse and easily dispersed them, as their number was only thirty.

English parliament, and their commissioners actually sent under a guard to the frontiers, they appointed commissioners to proceed to the Hague, to treat with the king. These, on their arrival on the 26th of March, found Lanark (now Duke of Hamilton), Lauderdale, and Callender, the chiefs of the engagers, and the royalists Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth already there. The antipathies and disputes of these parties caused distraction and confusion; and Charles, whose real design was to repair to Ormond and the Catholics in Ireland, was little inclined to give them satisfaction. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, which occurred soon after, made it expedient for him to quit the Hague. This civilian had been sent as envoy from the parliament to the states. On the very evening of his arrival, May 3, as he was sitting at supper in an inn, six persons entered the room with drawn swords; and, dragging him from his chair, murdered him on the spot.* The assassins escaped: but it was known that they were Scotsmen and followers of Montrose. Charles immediately left the Hague, and proceeded to Paris; whence, after a delay of three months, he proceeded to Jersey, in order to take shipping for Ireland. But the intelligence which he received from that country showing that his cause there was hopeless, he renewed his negotiations with the Scots. Many months passed without anything being done: but, early in the following year, March 15, 1650, he met the commissioners, who were the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers, at the Prince of Orange's town of Breda. But, though urged by his mother, the Prince of Orange, and several of his other friends, to take the covenant and comply with the other demands, he still protracted the treaty.

The truth is, Charles, who had all the insincerity so distinctive of his family, had in view another mode of recovering his throne. The restless and enterprising Montrose, having obtained some supplies of arms and

* Ascham, the republican envoy to the court of Madrid, was also assassinated by the royalists. Clarendon does not even condemn the deed.

money from the northern courts, had embarked at Hamburg with about six hundred men, Germans and Scottish exiles. He sailed to the Orkney isles, where, by a forced levy, he raised his troops to about fourteen hundred, with whom he passed over to the opposite coast: but, as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland, the people, instead of joining him as he expected, fled at his approach. At Corbins Dale, in Fifeshire, he was encountered, on the 17th of April, by a party of three hundred horse, under Strachan; the main army of four thousand men, under David Lesley, not having yet come up. The unwarlike islanders, when charged by cavalry, threw down their arms and fled; and the Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered. Montrose, in the disguise of a peasant, escaped by swimming across a river: but, on the 8th of May, he was betrayed by a person with whom he had taken refuge, and conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh. Every insult that could be devised was heaped on him by his ungenerous captors. The magistrates of Edinburgh met him at the gates; and, by their directions, he was placed, bareheaded and pinioned, on a high seat in a cart, and thus led by the executioner to the common jail, his officers walking two and two before the cart. Argyle and his other enemies, it is said, feasted their eyes with the sight from a balcony. Within two days he was brought before the parliament to receive his sentence. The chancellor, in a bitter tone, enumerated all his offences. He replied that he had always acted by the royal command. He was then sentenced to be hung on a gallows thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth and Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, and his body to be buried by the hangman on the Burrow Muir. He heard this sentence with an unchanged countenance. The clergy next came to torture him; they told him that his punishment here was but a shadow of what awaited him in the next world. He repelled them with disdain: he was prouder, he said, to have his head placed on the prison walls

than his picture in the king's bed-chamber; and he wished he had flesh enough to be dispersed through Christendom to attest his loyalty. He appeared on the scaffold splendidly attired, and addressed the people in explanation of his dying unabsolved by the church. The executioner then hung the book containing the history of his exploits about his neck: he smiled at their malice, and said he wore it with more pride than the garter. His behaviour during his last moments gained many proselytes to the cause for which he suffered.

Montrose was only thirty-eight years of age. His mind was irregularly great, always aiming at what was beyond his power to achieve. He never displayed the talents of a great commander: but as a partisan or *guerilla* he was not to be excelled. Personal aggrandizement and the gratification of personal enmity were the chief incentives to most of his actions. His barbarous death has in some measure effaced the memory of the cruelties which he committed.

Sir Francis Hay Spotswood, grandson of the archbishop, colonels Sibbald and Hurry, his companions, were all executed a few days after Montrose. His friend Lord Frendnaught disappointed the public vengeance by a voluntary death.

When the news of Montrose's defeat reached Charles, he lost no time in declaring that he had forbidden him to proceed in his design, and that he was not sorry for what had befallen him. He then submitted, without reserve, to the demands of the commissioners. Besides assenting to the covenant and the solemn league and covenant, he bound himself not to tolerate popery in any part of his dominions, and to govern by the advice of the parliament and the kirk. He then embarked, on the 2d of June, on board of a Dutch fleet employed to protect the herring-fisheries; and, after a tedious voyage of three weeks, reached the mouth of the Spey on the 23d. A court was arranged for him with all the proper officers, but none of the Engagers were permitted to approach it; nor were any of his English followers, except the Duke

of Buckingham, Lord Wilmot, and a few servants, suffered to remain with him. He soon found that he was to be a mere pageant of royalty; and the insolence of some of the more fanatic clergy made his life miserable. He was compelled to listen to their incessant invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connexion with malignants. Long prayers and sermons, and rigid fasts were inflicted on him; and the slightest levity in look or conduct was severely reprehended. How long a licentious youth (for such was Charles) and these strict religionists could have agreed, is uncertain; but the time for the experiment was brief. Charles had been but one short month in Scotland, when, on the 22d of July, Cromwell, flushed with victory in Ireland, crossed the Tweed at the head of an English army.

In Ireland, when the nuncio and the clergy had got the supreme power into their hands, they exercised it weakly, passionately, and injudiciously; but the Marquis of Clanricarde and some other peers rallied against them, and finally obliged the nuncio to fly to the camp of his friend Owen O'Neal. Lord Inchiquin, who had been hitherto on the side of the parliament, having declared for the royal cause, the council invited Ormond to return and resume the lieutenancy; and, on his arrival, the insolent, turbulent Italian found it necessary to quit the kingdom, in which his presence had been productive only of evil. The news of the danger of the king at this time made Ormond and the confederates recede a little from the rigour of their mutual demands. They engaged to maintain an army of seventeen thousand men for the royal cause; and he promised the free exercise of the papal religion, the repeal of Poyning's law, and other concessions. This treaty was concluded on the 17th of January, 1649; and the account of the execution of the king caused the Scottish army in Ulster to declare for the royal cause. Owen O'Neal, who was closely connected with the party of the nuncio, refused to be included in it, and formed an alliance with the parlia-

mentary commanders. Ormond, being joined by Inchiquin from Munster, was, on the 19th of June, enabled to appear at the head of a combined army of eleven thousand men, Protestants and Catholics, before the walls of Dublin, while Inchiquin reduced Drogheda. Monk, who commanded at Dundalk, had concerted with O'Neal a plan for drawing the lord-lieutenant away from Dublin; but Inchiquin fell on and routed a body of O'Neal's troops who were convoying the ammunition sent him by Monk for this purpose, and then compelled Monk himself to surrender. He also reduced Newry, Carlingford, Trim, and other towns, and then rejoined Ormond before Dublin. Owen O'Neal, in the mean time, advanced towards Londonderry, which was hard pressed by the royalists, and obliged them to raise the siege.

The parliament had, on the 15th of May, appointed Cromwell to the command in Ireland, but he hesitated to accept it. The council of officers then directed two from each regiment to meet, and seek God as to what advice to offer him: and at length he declared himself willing to undertake that service. He was appointed lord-lieutenant, with supreme authority, both civil and military, for three years. He demanded a force of twelve thousand men, with all needful supplies, and £100,000 in money. These preparations occasioned so much delay, that Cromwell did not leave London till the 10th of July; on which day, after three ministers had offered up prayers for his success, and Goffe, and Harrison, and himself "did," says Whitelock, "expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion," he left Whitehall with a train of carriages, each drawn by six horses, with his life-guard of eighty gentlemen, all of whom had been officers, and a numerous suite of attendants. Before their departure, his officers presented a petition to parliament, praying that drunkenness, profane swearing, etc., might be restrained; that legal proceedings should be in English, cheap, certain, etc.; that lands and houses, with their encumbrances, should be registered in each parish; and that tithes should be abol-

ished, and two shillings in the pound levied on the land for the support of the clergy and the poor, etc., etc.

The troops for Ireland were appointed to rendezvous at Milford Haven, and the regiments of Reynolds and Venables were embarked at once for the relief of Dublin. Mutinies and desertion among his troops, however, delayed the departure of the lord-lieutenant; and, in the mean time, the siege of Dublin was raised: for Ormond, who had hitherto lain at Finglass, on the north side of the city, had crossed the Liffey, and encamped at Rathmines on the south side; and, to prevent the garrison from grazing their horses, and to cut off the communication with Ring's-end, where the re-enforcements from England must land, he sent a party, on the 1st of August, to take and secure the castle of Baggotrath, near the walls. Jones, the governor, who had been re-enforced by the regiments of Reynolds and Venables, sallied out and drove them off; and then, following up his success, attacked and totally routed the besieging army, with a loss of one thousand killed, two thousand taken, and all their ammunition, baggage, and stores. Cromwell and Ireton landed in Dublin on the 18th; and, having given their troops about a fortnight's rest, led them, on the 3d of September, against Drogheda, in which Ormond had left a garrison of between two and three thousand men,* under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an English Catholic. Having effected a breach in the walls on the 11th, about one thousand of the besiegers succeeded in entering it, but were driven back again. They, however, renewed the attempt, and were victorious, when orders were issued to give no quarter, and the whole garrison was massacred. About a thousand of the Catholic inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the great church, in which they had set up the mass, were slaughtered in it; and "their friars

* Mostly English, according to Ludlow (i., 260). This does not seem very credible, and he is a suspicious witness against Cromwell. He had, however, the means of ascertaining the truth.

and priests," says Cromwell in his despatch, "were knocked on the head promiscuously with the others."*

From Drogheda Cromwell advanced to Wexford, all the towns and castles on his way submitting. After his guns had played for a day on the castle, and had effected a small breach, the governor sent in the evening to treat for a surrender: but, neglecting to demand a cessation of arms, the firing continued; and, the breach being thus enlarged, a part of the English soldiers entered, and, opening the gates, admitted the rest, when a promiscuous slaughter, as at Drogheda, took place. Shortly after, Cork and some other great towns in Munster declared for the parliament; and, on Lord Broghil's coming back from England, most of Inchiquin's troops went over to him. Cromwell, whose men suffered greatly from disease and want of provisions, found it necessary to retire from before Waterford, to which he had laid siege. He then put his troops into winter-quarters.†

* Whitelock. Yet Dr. Vaughan (p. 478) asserts, that "the several communications to the parliament make no mention of the death of any who were not found in arms."

† Whatever military glory Cromwell may have acquired in Ireland, it was stained with the most atrocious cruelty. Of this we have the best possible proof in his own confessions. In a despatch sent by him to his colleagues at Westminster, giving an account of the storming of Drogheda, he says, "Sir Arthur Ashton, and diverse considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword: and, indeed, being in the heat of the action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men." And again, speaking of a detachment which surrendered the next day, "When they submitted," he says, "their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." "All the friars," he adds, "were knocked on the head promiscuously but two, the one of which was Father Peter Taaf, brother to the Lord Taaf, whom the soldiers took the next day and made an end of; and the other was taken in the round tower, under the repute of lieutenant; and when he understood that the officers in that town had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar, but that did not save him." It is stated by Carte, that, out of a garrison of 3100 men, but a single soldier escaped to make known his companions' melancholy

Early in February, 1650, Cromwell, having been reenforced, again took the field. No place was able to resist him. Kilkenny opened its gates on the 28th of March; and its example was followed, after a brave defence, by Clonmel, on the 10th of May. He was preparing to renew the siege of Waterford, when he was summoned to England on account of the Scottish affairs. The chief command in Ireland he left to Ireton, by whom the war was prosecuted with vigour.

As he approached London on the 31st of May, Cromwell was met at Hounslow by many members of parliament and officers of the army, and conducted to Whitehall. The affairs of Scotland being taken into consideration, it was decided that an army, under Fairfax and Cromwell, should be marched into that country without delay. Fairfax at first made no objection: but afterward, being influenced by his wife

fate. Nor was the massacre confined to the garrison. The unoffending inhabitants, without regard to sex or age, were put to the sword; and in the great church alone, where they had fled for protection, not less than one thousand were deliberately murdered. On the taking of Wexford, the same savage scenes were renewed, and an indiscriminate slaughter of the armed and unarmed alike took place; and no less than three hundred females, who had gathered around the great cross, "hoping that Christian soldiers would be so far softened by the sight of that emblem of mercy as to spare the lives of unresisting women," were unpityingly put to death. And still, what is perhaps the most outrageous and detestable feature of the whole, these acts of diabolical cruelty were perpetrated in the name of religion, and under the pretence of serving God. In speaking of the sacking of Drogheda, Cromwell says, "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment upon these barbarous wretches." And again, in the same despatch, "Give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is brought. It was set upon some of our hearts that a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the Spirit of God; and is it not clearly that which caused your men to storm so courageously? It was the Spirit of God who gave your men courage and took it away again, and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success; and therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory." Oh religion! how hath thy name been desecrated—how thy benign and merciful spirit perverted to the most unrighteous purposes by the wicked and malignant passions of man!—See Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii., 15, *et seq.*, Harpers' Family Library.—*Am. Ed.*

and the ministers, he felt scruples as to the justice of invading a country with which they were in alliance. The council of state appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock as a committee to confer with him in order to remove his scruples. They met in a room at Whitehall on the 25th; and after prayer, as was the custom, proceeded to the discussion. They endeavoured to prove that the Scots, by their late invasion of England under the Duke of Hamilton, had already broken the covenant, and that their present levies of men proved a hostile intention. He declared himself, however, still unconvinced, and expressed his determination to lay down his commission. They all conjured him not to think of doing so, in which, Whitelock says, "none were so earnest as Cromwell and the soldiers: yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it."* Fairfax, however, persisted; and the parliament passed an act the next day, constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq., to be captain-general of all the forces raised and to be raised within the commonwealth of England. Three days after the new general set out for the north.†

On the 22d of July Cromwell crossed the Tweed at the head of a veteran army of sixteen thousand men. The whole country thence to Edinburgh presented a scene of desolation: for orders had been given to remove the cattle and provisions; and, by disseminating monstrous falsehoods of Cromwell's cruelties in Ireland, and by threats of infamy and death, the government had caused the people to abandon their dwellings. The Scottish army, under David Lesley, was posted behind a strong intrenchment running from Edinburgh to Leith: and, though more numerous than the enemy, as they were mostly raw recruits, it was the prudent plan of their general to give the invaders no opportunity of fighting, and thus starve them out

* Mrs. Hutchinson, who was no friend to Cromwell, thinks that he was sincere. This, of course, was her husband's opinion. It was also that of Ludlow.

† See Appendix (I).

of the country. This plan would doubtless have succeeded (for sickness had already begun to prevail in the English army), but that they found a good ally in the Scottish clergy, by their meddling in the civil and military affairs of the country. These latter commenced by obliging the king to remove to Stirling: his presence in the army, as they asserted, giving occasion to riot and neglect of discipline. They next required that the camp should be purged of malignants; and about eighty officers and some of the men having been thus dismissed, the army was declared to be entirely composed of saints, of whose success there could be no doubt. But, though they might be holy themselves, they were engaged in the cause of one who was immersed in sin. To remove this offence, therefore, a declaration was drawn up, which the king was required to subscribe: in this he was to deplore the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother; to declare that he took the covenant with truth and sincerity, and had no enemies but those of it; to pronounce all treaties with the Irish rebels null and void; and to detest popery, prelacy, etc., etc. Little scrupulous as Charles was, he refused to perform an act so repugnant to natural duty. But it soon appeared that he would be supported on no other terms: he therefore, on the 16th of August, affixed his signature to the instrument, in doing which no one could believe him to be sincere; and yet there was great joy, and the cloud of guilt being, as they were persuaded, thus removed, the ministers assured their hearers of a certain victory over a "blaspheming general and a sectarian army."

Cromwell, finding that he could not bring the Scots to action, retired on the 30th to Musselburg, where he placed his sick on board his ships. He then moved to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar, followed by Lesley, who occupied the heights of Lammermuir. But the civilians and the clergy, the committees of the estates and the kirk, would no longer be advised by the prudent general; and, fearing now that the enemy might escape, they insisted on his giving battle.

Cromwell and his officers had, to use his common phrase, been "seeking the Lord;" on which occasion, as he afterward declared, he felt "such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it," that he assured those about him that God would certainly appear for them. As they were walking after this exercise in Lord Roxburgh's gardens, and viewing the Scottish camp with glasses, Cromwell, observing a great movement in it, cried, "God is delivering them into our hands; they are coming down to us." He was right: during the night, which was wet and stormy, the Scots descended from the elevated position which they had occupied, and in the morning, drenched and weary, they were fallen upon by the English troops. The Scottish horse, after a gallant though brief resistance, were broken and routed; when the infantry threw away their arms and fled, two regiments alone resisting, who bravely perished where they stood. The fugitives were pursued for eight miles; three thousand were slain, and ten thousand, with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were taken. Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates; and the whole country south of the Forth submitted to the English general, a few castles only holding out.

To raise a new army was now the first object of the Scottish government: but this could hardly be effected so long as the religious test was maintained in all its rigour. The commissioners of the kirk, therefore, on being consulted, passed two resolutions to the following effect: that those who had relapsed, or been hitherto backward in the work, should be permitted to make profession of repentance; and that, on doing this, they might be allowed to serve and defend their country. Penitents now appeared in abundance: royalists, engagers, and all the excluded, crowded to court and camp. But a new schism hence arose: for the more rigid portion of the clergy protested against the resolutions as an insult to God and a betrayal of the good cause. The kirk was now split into Resolutioners and Protesters, or Remonstrants: and five of the western counties, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton,

and Dumfries, presented a remonstrance against the treaty with the king, and required him to be excluded from the government.

Charles, in the mean time, weary of the state of pupilage in which he was held, had concerted with the royalists in the Highlands to make his escape to them. On the afternoon of the 4th of October, having got out of Perth, where the parliament now sat, under pretence of hawking, he rode forty-two miles, to a hovel named Clova, in the Highlands, where his friends had promised to meet him. But few, however, appeared: and Colonel Montgomery, who had been sent in pursuit of him by Argyle, to whom his plan had been betrayed (by Buckingham, it is said), prevailed on him to return. Still this *Start*, as it was called, was of some service to the king, inasmuch as it caused him to be afterward treated with a little more consideration.

On the first day of the new year, 1651, Charles was solemnly crowned at Scone. When, on his knees and with upraised hand, he had sworn to observe the two covenants, to maintain Presbytery, to govern according to the laws of God and the land, and to root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle, and the nobility and people took the oath of allegiance to him. His friends were now admitted to parliament; and, to gain Argyle more entirely to his side, he hinted at a marriage with his daughter: but that wary nobleman was not to be caught by an offer which he knew was not sincere.

By the joint exertions of all parties, an army of twenty thousand men was assembled at Stirling in the month of April. The king himself took the chief command, with Hamilton for his lieutenant, and Lesley for his major-general. The passes of the Forth were secured, and the army was encamped in a strong position at the Torwood, near Stirling. Cromwell, who had been suffering so severely from ague as to have obtained permission to return to England, finding himself unexpectedly better at the approach of sum-

mer, resumed operations in July. By means of a fleet of boats which had been collected at Queen's Ferry, Overton passed over, and fortified a hill at Inverkething; he was followed by Lambert; a Scottish force sent to oppose them on the 21st was driven off, when Cromwell lost no time in transporting over the remainder of his army, and the whole of Fife was rapidly reduced, and Perth opened her gates. The communications of the royal army with the north were now cut off; and, if it retained its present position, it must either starve, disband, or fight at a disadvantage. In this dilemma, the king proposed the desperate expedient of a march into England. Argyle alone opposed it in the council; and when his reasons were rejected he obtained permission to retire to his estates. The king then, at the head of fourteen thousand men, left Stirling on the 31st on his way for England. Cromwell immediately sent Lambert, with a body of three thousand horse, to hang on his rear, and ordered Harrison to advance from Newcastle with an equal number to press on his flank; while he himself, leaving Monk with five thousand men to complete the conquest of Scotland, on the 7th of August moved rapidly in the direction of York.

Charles entered England at Carlisle. At Warrington, on the 16th, Lambert and Harrison attempted to prevent his passage of the Mersey, but they were not in time to break down the bridge; and, passing by them, he marched rapidly through Cheshire and Shropshire to Worcester, where, on the 22d, he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor and some of the gentlemen of the county. The aspect of his affairs was, however, by no means cheering. The royalists had not been prepared, and few of them came to join him; the committee of the kirk forbade any one to be employed without taking the covenant; and the attempts of Massey, the defender of Gloucester, and now one of the royal commanders, to raise men in Lancashire, failed on this account.

At the first intelligence of the king's march into England, the Council of State were in great alarm:

they supposed that it must have been concerted with the Presbyterians; expected the royalists everywhere to rise; and even suspected Cromwell of treachery. They soon, however, resumed their courage; caused the declaration which Charles had published to be burned by the hands of the common hangman; proclaimed him and all his abettors guilty of high treason; put suspected persons into prison;* and ordered the militia of the adjoining counties to march towards Worcester. Cromwell himself arrived on the 28th, and found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, while the royalists were not half the number, and scarcely a sixth part of them English. That very day Lambert made himself master of the bridge over the Severn, at Upton, in the defence of which Massey received a severe wound, which deprived the royal army of his valuable services. On the 3d of September (the day of the victory at Dunbar), Fleetwood, advancing from Upton on the west bank of the Severn, proceeded to force the passage of the Team; while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats across the Severn, to pass over to his aid. The Scots, taking advantage of the numerous hedges in that part, fought gallantly: but Cromwell having sent over some regiments, they were at length driven back to the city. In the mean time, the remainder of the royal forces issued from the town, and attacked the troops on the east side. At first their efforts were successful: but they were finally driven back by Cromwell's veteran reserve, and forced to retire into the city. Cromwell now stormed the fort called Fort Royal, put its garrison of fifteen hundred men to the sword, and turned its guns on the town, which the royalists speedily abandoned. The battle lasted five hours, and the Scots fought nobly. "This has been," said Cromwell in his despatch, "a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have

* The very day that Charles entered Worcester, a Presbyterian clergyman named Love, and a layman named Gibbons, were beheaded on Tower Hill for their share in a conspiracy in favour of royalty.

seen." Of the vanquished three thousand were slain, and only two hundred on the side of the victors: but, as the whole country rose against the Scots, whose speech betrayed them, the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand. Among these were the earls of Derby, Cleveland, and Shrewsbury of the English nobility, and the Duke of Hamilton (who was mortally wounded), the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kelly, and the lords Sinclair, Kenmuir, and Spynie of the Scottish; also the generals Lesley, Middleton, and Massey. The Earl of Derby and two others were tried by a court-martial at Chester, and put to death; and the others were detained in prison, from which Massey and Middleton, however, escaped. "It is certain," says Godwin, "there was, on the whole, a great spirit of clemency displayed in the limits the government thought proper to prescribe to itself on this occasion. Of the common soldiers taken prisoners, the greater part were sent to the plantations [as slaves*], and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa."† Not one word of reprehension has the prejudiced historian to bestow on this barbarous treatment of the freeborn soldiers of an independent nation! These pretended republicans seemed resolved, it would appear, to tread faithfully in the footprints of the Greeks and Romans.

The parliament voted Cromwell an estate of £4000 a year, in addition to the annual sum of £2500 already granted him; and it was likewise voted that Hampton Court should be fitted up for his residence. Lambert,

* That is, they were sent, and *actually sold into bondage*, to the sugar-planters in the West Indies, as had been the unfortunate prisoners in Ireland. What a deplorable state of society must there have been in England at this time, to permit such an enormity! And what must we think of those men who, with the sacred name of liberty constantly on their lips, could thus recklessly violate, in the persons of their own countrymen, all its most precious attributes!—*Am. Ed.*

† The same was probably the fate of the 5000 prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar, and "driven like turkeys" into England.

Whalley, Monk, and others, had also estates given them.

The dangers and escapes of Charles after the defeat of Worcester are so interesting in themselves, and they so strikingly display some of the nobler and more generous feelings of our nature, that we cannot refrain from relating them somewhat in detail.

Charles, who had shown no want of courage during the battle, left the town with the Scottish horse: but he parted from them during the night with about sixty followers, and directed his course for Boscobel House in Staffordshire, the seat of Mrs. Cotton, a Catholic lady, where Lord Derby had found shelter some days before. He was, however, conducted instead to Whiteladies, another of Mrs. Cotton's residences, and here his companions took leave of him. He cut off his hair, stained his face and hands, and, putting on the coarse, threadbare clothes of a rustic, went forth in the morning with a bill in his hand as a wood-cutter, in company with four brothers, labouring men, named Penderel, and Yates their brother-in-law, all Catholics. One of them accompanied him into the thickest part of the wood, while the rest kept watch. As the day was wet and stormy, and Charles was weary with his previous exertions, his companion spread a blanket for him under a tree, whither Yates's wife brought him some food. He was startled at the sight of her, but she assured him that she would die sooner than betray him; and the aged mother of the Penderels, when she came to see him, fell on her knees and blessed God for having chosen *her* sons to save the life of their king.

About nine in the evening the king and Richard Penderel left the wood, and proceeded to Madeley, the house of a Catholic gentleman named Wolf, which was near the Severn, it being his intention to pass over into Wales. They did not arrive till midnight; and all the next day they remained concealed behind the hay in a barn, while Wolf sent to examine the river. But they found all the bridges guarded and all the boats secured. It was therefore necessary to

abandon their design, and, when night set in, to direct their steps to Boscobel. Here the king met Colonel Careless, a Catholic royalist; and, as the soldiers were very numerous about there, they both concealed themselves all the next day in the dense foliage of an oak tree, which grew close to the footpath in a meadow in the centre of the wood, whence they could frequently discern the red coats of the soldiers as they passed among the trees. In the night they returned to the house, where Charles remained quietly all the next day, which was Sunday. On Monday, the 8th, he received a message from Lord Wilmot, to meet him at Moseley, the house of Mr. Whitegrave, also a recusant. As his feet had been cut and blistered by the walk to and from Madeley, he rode a horse belonging to one of the Penderels, the six brothers attending him armed. Here a new plan of escape was devised for him: the daughter of Mr. Lane, of Bentley, a Protestant gentleman in that neighbourhood, had obtained a pass to visit Mrs. Norton, her relation, near Bristol; and it was proposed that the king should ride before her as her servant. To this he readily consented; and in the night Wilmot went to Bentley to make the arrangements. The next day, the 9th, a party of troopers arrived. The king was shut up in the Priest's Hole, but they departed without searching the house. In the night he went to Bentley; and on the second day, the 11th, equipped in a suit of gray, he mounted before Miss Lane; her cousin, Mr. Lassells, riding beside them; and on the fourth day they reached Mr. Norton's in safety. Wilmot, who had boldly rode with a hawk on his hand and dogs at his heels, also eluded discovery; and he took up his abode at Sir John Winter's, in the neighbourhood.

Miss Lane, pretending that her servant was unwell, obtained a separate apartment for him: but the butler, who had been a servant in the palace at Richmond, recognised Charles as soon as he saw him. He communicated his suspicions to Lassels, and the king then deemed it his wisest course to confide in him. His confidence was not betrayed: the man was faithful

and zealous. By his means Wilmot had a private meeting with the king on the 17th; and, as the butler had inquired without success for a ship to take them to France or Spain, it was arranged that they should go to Colonel Windham's at Trent, near Sherburn in Dorset; and that a letter (as if her father were dangerously ill) should be given to Miss Lane, to serve as a pretext for her sudden departure. They therefore left Mr. Norton's the next morning, and reached Trent the following day. Miss Lane and Lassels then returned home.

A vessel was soon hired at Lyme to convey a gentleman and his servant (that is, Wilmot and the king) to France. They went down on the evening of the 23d (Charles riding before a young lady) to a small inn at Charmouth, where they were to be taken on board: but no vessel appeared; for, as the master who had been engaged was leaving his house to embark, his wife stopped him, and would not suffer him to go. At dawn on the 24th Wilmot went to Lyme, to learn the cause of the disappointment; and the others, in the mean time, rode to Bridport, which was full of soldiers. Charles led the horses through the midst of them into the inn-yard, rudely pushing them aside as he passed along. But the hostler here unfortunately claimed acquaintance with him, saying that he had known him in the service of a Mr. Potter, at Exeter (in whose house Charles had really lodged). Taking advantage, however, of the confusion of the hostler's memory, the king coolly replied, "True, I did live with him, but I have no time now; we will renew our acquaintance over a pot of beer on my return to London."

When Wilmot returned with information that the master refused putting to sea, they rode back to Trent, where the king remained till the 8th of October, when he removed to the residence of a widow lady named Hyde, at Heale, near Salisbury, lying concealed there for five days, during which time Colonel Gunter, through one Mansell, a merchant, entered into an arrangement with the master of a collier which was an

chored at Shoreham in Sussex. Charles rode to the adjoining fishing-village of Brighthelmstone on the 15th, where he sat down to supper with the colonels Philips and Gunter, and Mansell, and Tattershall the captain of the vessel. The latter recognised the king, having been detained in the river by him in 1648. He called Mansell aside, therefore, and complained of fraud: but the king took no notice of it, and kept them all drinking and smoking till four in the morning, when they set out for Shoreham. Just before he departed, as he was alone, the landlord came behind him and kissed his hand, which was on the back of a chair, saying, "I have no doubt that if I live I shall be a lord, and my wife a lady." Charles laughed, but made no reply.

When they were on board, Tattershall assured the king of his fidelity. The ship was then got under weigh, and stood along the coast as if for Deal, whither she was bound. At five, Charles, as had been arranged, addressed the crew, telling them that he and his companion were flying from their creditors, and begged them to join him in prevailing on the captain to land them in France; at the same time he gave them twenty shillings for drink. The sailors at once became zealous advocates in his behalf; Tattershall, however, made many objections, but at length affected to yield; and the next morning the two adventurers were put on shore at Fechamp, in Normandy.*

Upwards of forty persons, it appears, were privy to the escape of Charles: a reward of £1000 had been

* Cardinal de Retz tells us that Charles had not a second shirt when he reached Paris, and that his mother had not money enough to buy him one.†

† The strange vicissitudes experienced by the widow of Charles I. are among the most striking exhibitions of the uncertainty of fortune. Although the daughter of Henry the Great of France, sister to Louis XIII., and queen-dowager of England, she was reduced to a state of such extreme destitution, even in the capital of her native country, and in the midst of her princely connexions, that she had not the commonest comforts of life. Cardinal de Retz relates in his memoirs, that, in calling one day on this princess, he found her in the chamber of her daughter, and that on his entrance she said to him, "You see I am come to keep Henrietta company; the poor child could not rise to-day for want of a fire."—*Am. Ed.*

offered, on the 9th of September, for his apprehension; yet no one, not even a servant, was found base enough to betray him. This surely is creditable to human nature; and it is only to be regretted that the object of such devotion should have afterward proved so little deserving of it.*

The Channel-isles, Scilly, Man, and the colonies of Barbadoes and Virginia, were reduced by the end of the year; and Scotland and Ireland alone remained to occupy the attention of the council of state.

In the former country, after the loss of their army in England, there was no force left effectually to oppose Monk. Stirling had already capitulated, on the 14th of August; and Dundee had been taken by storm on the 1st of September, and all within it ruthlessly massacred. Montrose, Aberdeen, and St. Andrew's opened their gates, and English detachments visited even the Orkney and Shetland isles. The earls of Huntley and Balcarras retired to the Highlands, where Argyle was endeavouring to organize a system of resistance; but they preferred submission to the English to a union with him, and he had merely the honour of being the last to yield. A commission of eight persons (among whom were Vane and St. John) was appointed by the English parliament for the affairs of Scotland. The object in view was to unite the two countries, for which purpose delegates were summoned to meet the commissioners at Dalkeith. To this project both the national and religious feelings of the Scottish people were adverse: but these were of little avail against superior power. Before the terms of union, however, could be adjusted, the parliament of England had ceased to exist, and Scotland remained a conquered country; a chain of new forts which extended to its remotest parts securing its tranquillity, and reminding the people of their subjugation.

Ireland was also completely subdued at this time.

* After the Restoration, Careless and the Penderels were rewarded by the king; Miss Lane and Colonel Windham by the parliament.

After the departure of Cromwell, Ireton had reduced Waterford and Carlow, while Sir Charles Coote was equally successful in Ulster, and Lord Broghil in Munster. Connaught and the city of Limerick only remained to the Irish. Ormond, thwarted and obstructed in every possible manner by the priesthood, quitted the kingdom on the 7th of December, leaving his uneasy seat to be filled by the Marquis of Clanricarde, a Catholic nobleman of high honour and unsullied loyalty.* A negotiation was in the mean time going on with the Duke of Lorraine for the service of himself and his army; but he required for himself, his heirs, and successors, the title of Protector-royal, with the chief civil and military authority, to be retained until Charles Stuart should repay him his expenses. To these extravagant demands the agents sent to Brussels subscribed on the 27th of July, 1651; but Clanricarde rejected them with indignation; and the arrest of the duke by the Spanish government shortly after put an end to all negotiations in that quarter.

Ireton opened the campaign of 1651 with the siege of Limerick on the 11th of June. It had a garrison of three thousand men under Hugh O'Neal, the gallant defender of Clonmel, but the keys of the gates and the government of the city remained with the mayor. Coote advanced from the North; and, in spite of Clanricarde, pushed on to Portumna and Athunree; Broghil defeated Lord Muskerry, the Catholic commander in Munster; Ireton himself forced the passage of the Shannon at Killaloe, and transported a part of his army to the Clare side of that river; and Limerick was thus shut in on all sides. The place was gallantly defended; and it was not till after a siege of four months, and when a wide breach had been effected in the walls, that the people and garrison consented to treat. Twenty-two persons were excepted from mercy, of whom five, namely, the Bishop

* Clanricarde was half brother to the late Earl of Essex. Their mother was the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney.

of Emly, Wolf a turbulent friar, Stretch the mayor, Barrow one of the town-council, and General Purcel, were executed. The intercession of the members of the court-martial which tried him saved the life of the brave O'Neal. Ireton, however, did not long survive his conquest; on the 25th of November he fell a victim to the plague, which was then raging in that part of the kingdom. His remains were conveyed to England, and honoured with a magnificent funeral in Westminster Abbey, and an estate of £2000 a year was settled on his family. Lieutenant-general Ludlow, who succeeded to the command, completed the subjugation of the country in the following year.

The parliament, on the 30th of January, 1652, appointed Lambert to the office of lord-deputy in Ireland. Being a vain, ostentatious man, he went immediately to great expense, laying out not less than £5000 on his coach and equipage: but a simple accident came to terminate his visions of glory. His wife and Ireton's widow happened to meet in the Park, when the former, as the lady of the actual deputy, claimed precedence. The mortified widow complained to her father; about the same time she gave her hand to Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, at this time a widower; and, to complete her triumph over her rival, it only remained that her husband should be made deputy in place of Lambert, which was easily effected. Cromwell's commission of lord-lieutenant was on the point of expiring, and a deputy without a lord-lieutenant was an absurdity. Some, indeed, objected to these titles altogether, as savouring too much of monarchy; still it was proposed to renew Cromwell's commission, which he declined. A proposition was then made to limit Lambert's commission to six months, at which he took fire and sent in his resignation. Cromwell was now empowered to appoint the commander of the forces for Ireland; and he nominated Fleetwood, reimbursing Lambert, however, the expenses he had incurred.

Commissioners, as in the case of Scotland, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Ireland. The peo-

ple of that most unhappy country were treated as we shall now proceed to relate.

Each chief, as he submitted, was allowed to levy a certain number of men for the service of the Catholic princes of the Continent, and to take them out of the country. A great number of young women and boys were at various times carried away to America and the West Indies.* By the "Act for the Settlement of Ireland," dated the 12th of August, 1652, a general amnesty was extended to all the inferior people. Of persons of property the following classes were "excepted from pardon of life and estate." 1. All those who, before the 10th of November, 1642, had had any share in the rebellion, massacres, etc. 2. All who sat or voted in the general assembly at Kilkenny before the 1st of May, 1643. 3. All Jesuits and other popish priests who had in any manner aided or abetted the aforesaid rebellion, massacres, etc. 4. The earls of Ormond, Castlehaven, Clanricarde, and nineteen other noblemen, with Bramhall the Protestant bishop of Derry, and eighty-one baronets, knights, and gentlemen, all mentioned by name. 5. All who, since the 1st of October, 1641, had slain any person in the English interest, soldiers or others, except in war. 6. All who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days. All other persons not included in these exceptions, who had borne command or exercised office in the war against the parliament, were to forfeit two thirds of their estates, with the option of retaining the remaining third, or receiving lands of the same value in another part of the kingdom. All persons who had resided in Ireland from October, 1641, to March, 1650, and had not been in the service of the parliament from August, 1649, to March, 1650, nor otherwise manifested their good affection to the commonwealth, were to forfeit one third of their estates.

It was the intention of the parliament to transport

* Sir William Petty says, that 6000 boys and women were sent away (in all, of course); one Catholic writer says 60,000; and another estimates the whole number of exiles at 100,000!! See Lingard, x., 366.

as many as possible of the native Irish beyond the Shannon; and this seems to have been effected in a great part of Leinster and of Munster, in which, at the present day, few of the original Irish have any landed property but what is of recent acquisition. The land assigned in Connaught in lieu of their thirds exceeded eight hundred thousand acres, which would seem to indicate that a good number had migrated, while the paucity of names belonging to the septs of Leinster and Munster in that province would appear to show a different result. At all events, the great prevalence of Irish names among the peasantry of Leinster and Munster, and their retention of the Irish language, prove that *they* at least were undisturbed. The forfeited lands were divided among the adventurers who had advanced money on the faith of parliament at the beginning of the war, and the soldiers who had served in Ireland from the time that Cromwell took the command. Europe had not witnessed such a transfer of landed property by conquest since the subjugation of the Greek empire by the Turks, and that of Grenada by the Spaniards. Catholic writers naturally exclaim against the treatment experienced by the native Irish on this occasion, and we are far from giving it unqualified approbation; we would, however, remind them of the expulsion of the Moors of Spain, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the Catholic sovereigns of Spain and France.*

* This is certainly a very singular mode of justifying the acts of rapine and robbery committed by Cromwell and his adherents; as though, because Spain had driven the intruding Moors from her soil, and France had persecuted and expelled the Protestants, England had therefore a right to dispossess the aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland of their lands, subject them to bondage, and transport them, at pleasure, either into foreign countries or to distant parts of their own. What possible connexion there can be between these different transactions, occurring at periods distant from each other, in different countries, and between wholly different parties, it is hard to imagine. It is neither more nor less than an attempt to justify wrong by wrong; and that, too, not on the principle of the *lex talionis*, or law of revenge, which is bad enough, but on the broad supposition that the commission of particular

We must not suppose that the aforesaid act was rigorously carried into effect. Many, even of those who were excepted by name, retained or afterward recovered their estates. In like manner, though a court was established for the trial of all who had been concerned in the murders and massacres of the Protestants, but few were executed, and those only persons of some rank: such as Lord Mayo in Connaught, Sir Phelim O'Neal in Ulster, and in Leinster Luke Toole, the head of one of the septs of Wicklow, Colonel Lewis Moore, Lewis Demley, and some others. The mother of Colonel Fitzgerald was burned for the murders she had committed, "with this aggravation," says Ludlow, "that she said she would make candles of their fat." The whole number executed is said to have been about two hundred, which makes it probable that the inferior agents were not rigorously sought after. Indeed, as they had massacred their victims by wholesale, it must have been a matter of difficulty to procure evidence.*

This conquest strongly resembles that of England by the Normans; and, as the latter gave origin to the bands of outlaws, so that of Ireland produced the Rapparees or Tories,† who harboured in the woods and bogs, whence they issued to commit their ravages in the open country. They proved so formidable that rewards were set on their heads: £100 for

wrong acts, it matters not by whom or against whom, may be appealed to in extenuation of all other acts of a similar nature. What crimes, however flagitious in themselves, might not be justified in this way? The truth is, the barbarous policy of England towards Ireland allows not of the smallest defence; and it would have been far more creditable to the historian to have candidly admitted this at once.—*Am. Ed.*

* "It was remarkable," says Lingard, "that the greatest deficiency of proof occurred in the province where the principal massacres *were said* to have been committed." He of course means to insinuate that the massacres were mere fictions. Perhaps what is said in the text sufficiently explains this phenomenon.

† Rapparee is apparently a corruption of *robber*. Tory comes from the Irish verb "toruighim," *to rob*.

that of a captain, and £40 for that of a common Tory.*

We are now to view the foreign relations of the commonwealth. It was on friendly terms with the courts of France and Spain, and with that of Sweden. The first difficulty arose with the King of Portugal, on the following account.

We have seen that a part of the English fleet went over to the Prince of Wales. This was placed under the command of Prince Rupert, to co-operate with Ormond in Ireland. The parliament, on the other hand, on the establishment of the commonwealth, turned their attention to the navy: the Earl of Warwick, as being a Presbyterian, was deprived of his office of lord-admiral; and (as the naval service did not, as yet, constitute a distinct profession) the colonels Blake, Dean, and Popham were appointed to command at sea, and a board of three, with Sir Henry Vane at its head, was appointed to manage the affairs of the admiralty. Chiefly through the exertions of Vane, a formidable fleet was got to sea, and Rupert was blockaded in the harbour of Kinsale. After some months he forced his way through the blockading squadron with the loss of three ships, sailed for the coast of Spain, and wintered in the Tagus. In the spring of 1650 Blake appeared at the mouth of that river, and demanded to be allowed to enter it and attack the pirate, as he styled the prince. This, however, was refused; and, as he attempted to force his way, he was fired on by the guns of the castle of

* The result of the measures carried into execution at this time against Ireland was the despoiling the native proprietors of the greater part of the soil of the entire kingdom, and transferring it to foreign military adventurers; the forcible removal of the inhabitants from their homes, some to the West Indies, to be sold as slaves, others to serve in the wars on the Continent, and others, again, to distant parts of their own country, where they were subjected to a bondage little better than colonial slavery; the execution of such as were most obnoxious to their oppressors, the prohibition of the Catholic worship, and the expulsion from the island of the Catholic priesthood. See Taylor's History of Ireland, ii., ch. iv., Harpers' Family Library.—*Am. Ed.*

Belem. He then stationed himself at the mouth of the river, and captured the Portuguese merchantmen; and the king, in return, threw the English merchants at Lisbon into prison, and seized their goods. Fearful, however, of the consequences of a war with the new republic, he forced Rupert to quit the Tagus, and sent an envoy to London to explain his conduct. It was long before matters could be accommodated: but the affair terminated at last, in January, 1653, in very valuable privileges being conceded to the English traders. Rupert, when driven from the Tagus, sailed to the Mediterranean, where he supported himself by piracy, capturing English, Spanish, and Genoese vessels; he thence went to the West Indies and pursued a similar course, till, having lost one of his ships, with his brother, Prince Maurice, in a hurricane, he sailed to the port of Nantes in France, where he sold his two remaining vessels to the French government in March, 1652.

The war which took place with the United Provinces was of much greater importance. During the lives of the princes of Orange, who were connected with the royal family of England, the States were friendly to their cause: but, on the death of William of Orange (on the 6th of November, 1650), the republican party* obtained the ascendency. The English parliament hereupon joined St. John with Strickland, their ambassador at the Hague, in an embassy, the object of which was to propose a strict alliance and union between the two countries: but, owing to various causes (one of which was said to be St. John's haughtiness), the envoys returned without having effected their purpose. The States are also said to have delayed coming to any decision, that they might first see the result of the contest between the parliament and the King of Scots. After the battle of Worcester they sent envoys to London: but the parliament was now elated with victory, and St. John had

* That is, the Louvestein or aristocratic party. This serves to explain the anxiety of the English oligarchy for a union.

already commenced his plan of vengeance. At his instigation, on the 5th of August Whitelock introduced the celebrated Navigation Act, which was calculated to give a fatal blow to the Dutch commercial prosperity: letters of marque had also been issued to sundry merchants, and many prizes had been already made.

The Dutch, early in the following year (1651), equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, in order, as they declared, to protect their commerce. Their admiral, Van Tromp, on the 19th of May, entered the Downs with forty ships, where Blake was lying with twenty sail; and, on being required to strike his flag, his reply, it is said, was a broadside. An action ensued, and the Dutch admiral retired with the loss of two ships. Who was the aggressor appears to be uncertain: the English affirmed that Tromp had no right to come off their coast and fire without provocation; while Tromp declared that he had been driven thither by stress of weather, and that he was preparing to salute the English admiral when the latter fired on him. The States sent over Pauw, the grand pensionary of Holland, to explain and apologize: but the parliament would abate nothing of their haughtiness. They insisted on a large sum of money as a compensation for their losses and the charges they had been at, and finally, on the 9th of July, issued a declaration of war.

While Sir George Ayscue, who had just returned from the West Indies, commanded a squadron in the Channel, Blake sailed to the north, where the Dutch were engaged in the herring-fishery. He captured the ships which guarded the fishing-busses, made these last pay a duty of every tenth herring, and sent them home with orders not to fish again without license. Van Tromp had put to sea with seventy sail; but, as he was preparing to engage Ayscue, a calm came on and prevented it; and when he was afterward in pursuit of Blake, a storm scattered his fleet, and five of his ships were captured. On his return

home he was received with murmurs and reproaches, and he laid down his commission in disgust.

De Ruyter succeeded Tromp in the command. On the 16th of August, as he was convoying a fleet of merchantmen, he was attacked by Ayscue off Plymouth. The forces were about equal, but the advantage was rather on the side of the Dutch; and Ayscue, who was suspected of royalism, was removed from his command, with, however, a grant of land in Ireland to console him. The pensionary De Witt having joined De Ruyter, and taken the chief command, an indecisive action was fought with Blake off the coast of Kent on the 28th of September. Night separated the combatants, but in the morning the Dutch retired to their own coast. Van Tromp was then restored to the command, and with a fleet of upward of seventy ships he sailed over to the Downs, where Blake was lying with about half that number. On the 30th of November the English admiral accepted the challenge to fight, and a combat took place which lasted through the whole day. In the night, Blake, who had lost five ships, ran up the river as far as Leigh. Tromp sought him at Harwich and Yarmouth, and then kept cruising along the coast from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight, with a broom at his masthead, to indicate that he could sweep the English from the sea.

The most strenuous efforts were made to wipe away this disgrace. The ships were refitted, two regiments of foot were embarked as marines, the wages of the seamen were raised, Dean and Monk were joined in command with Blake, and with seventy sail they stationed themselves across the Channel from the Isle of Portland, to intercept Tromp, who was convoying a fleet of merchantmen. Blake met him on the 18th of February, 1653, off Cape La Hogue, and the action which ensued was exceedingly obstinate: the Dutch losing five and the English one ship, and Blake himself being severely wounded. The engagement was renewed the two following days, and the Dutch acknowledged a loss of nine ships of war and twenty-four merchantmen.

This was the last triumph of the remnant of the Long Parliament. Their reign, which had lasted for twelve years, had now reached its close, and they were doomed to fall by the hands of their own servants.

It is uncertain when the idea of sole dominion first entered the mind of Cromwell. In his despatch after the battle of Worcester, he called it a "*crowning victory:*" a very simple and natural expression, as appears to us, but one to which his enemies gave an invidious sense. After that victory he became so elevated, that Hugh Peters, as they were on their return to London, remarked to a friend, "that Cromwell would make himself a king."* In the parliament, Cromwell was very anxious to have the Act of Oblivion passed, which his enemies ascribed to his desire to conciliate the royalists. On the 10th of the following December he invited some of the principal lawyers and officers of the army to meet him at the speaker's house, to deliberate on the settlement of the nation. At this conference the military men were for a republic, the lawyers for a limited monarchy. With these last Cromwell agreed: but, on their recommending one of the sons of the late king as the person to be chosen, he said it would be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but gave it as his opinion that "a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." They came to no conclusion, but Cromwell had gained all that, perhaps, he wanted, a knowledge of the sentiments of all these different persons.

Besides the Act of Oblivion, Cromwell, on the 17th of November, had forced on the parliament another measure, which had long slumbered in committee, namely, the fixing a term for their own duration. They decided on the 4th of November, 1654: thus giving to themselves three years longer of certain power, and the chapter of accidents afterward.† In

* Ludlow, ii., 12.

† "Their project," says Godwin (iii., 470), "had been slowly and gradually to convince the nation of their worth; to show that

return, they proposed to reduce the army; and, on the 19th of December, disbanded a fourth of the forces. They were proceeding to follow up the blow, when, on the 13th of August, 1652, a petition was presented from the army, calling for reform in the law, attention to the subject of religion, etc., and tacitly charging them with neglect of duty in various ways. They accordingly took the hint, and desisted.

In the following November Cromwell had a long and confidential interview with Whitelock, in which he asserted, that, without "some authority so full and high" as to be able to restrain them both, it would be impossible to prevent the ruin of the good cause through collision between the parliament and the army. Whitelock told him that he could restrain the army, but that the parliament, being the supreme authority, could only be controlled by its own good sense and virtue. "What if a man should take upon him to be a king?" cried Cromwell. Whitelock replied, that the remedy would be worse than the disease; that Cromwell had already the power of a king without the odium; that he would lose many of his friends by such an attempt, and convert what was now a national quarrel into a mere contest between the houses of Cromwell and Stuart. His final advice was, that Cromwell should make a private treaty with the King of Scots, and place him on the throne, with such conditions as should secure the liberties of the nation, and have the command of the army assured to himself. Cromwell said they would discourse of it another time, and they separated. Whitelock observed after this that his carriage towards him was much altered.

It is remarkable, that, not long after, through Cromwell's influence, permission was given to the Duke of

they were qualified to govern and to render a people prosperous and happy, to acquire by solid services their good-will and approbation, and then to throw themselves on their suffrages." How much in the character of Sir Arthur Haselrig, Harry Marten, and others of the parliament this is! Romance-writers, by-the way, make sad work of history.

Gloucester to reside with his sister, the Princess of Orange.* This looks as if Cromwell regarded him as a rival.

During the winter various meetings were held by the officers, at which Cromwell took care to increase their disaffection towards the statesmen, whom he represented as anxious only to reserve all the benefits and emoluments of the state to themselves. An immediate dissolution of the parliament was his great object; and he had already proposed that, in the interval between that event and the meeting of a new one, the government should be exercised by a council of forty, composed jointly of members of parliament and officers of the army. The affair, however, dragged slowly through the house, which was reluctant to relinquish its present hold on power; and the impatience of Cromwell was no longer to be restrained. On the 19th of April, 1653, he summoned a meeting of parliament-men and officers to his lodgings at Whitehall, to devise some mode of putting a speedy end to the present parliament. The army party declared that "it was necessary the same should be done one way or the other," for which Cromwell rebuked them, and late at night the meeting broke up, but the subject was resumed on the morning. During the discussion, word was brought that the house was then engaged on the matter of the dissolution, and it was hoped they would do as had been required of them. Those of the meeting who were members went to the house: but it soon appeared that it was their own original bill, and not that of the army, they were engaged on; and that they were about to pass it at once, that it might forthwith obtain the force of law. Harrison "most sweetly and humbly" urged them to pause; while Ingoldsby, in the mean time, sped away to Whitehall. Cromwell instantly ordered a party of soldiers to follow him. He proceeded to

* The Princess Elizabeth had died. What Hume tells us of the intention of the parliament to put these children to mechanical trades is totally undeserving of credit. They were always treated with humanity and respect.

the house, and, leaving the soldiers in the lobby, went in, and, taking his seat on one of the outer benches, sat listening to the debate. His dress, we are told, was a plain suit of black, with gray worsted stockings. The speaker was about to put the question: Cromwell whispered to Harrison, "This is the time. I must do it." He rose, put off his hat, and addressed them. His language at first was moderate: but, as he warmed, his tone altered, and "he told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults." "But," said he, "the Lord has done with you, and has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work that are more worthy." Sir Peter Wentworth declared that he never had heard such unparliamentary language, and that, too, from their own servant. "Come, come, sir," cried Cromwell, putting on his hat and springing forward, "I will put an end to your prating." He paced up and down the floor, apparently in great agitation; then, stamping with his foot, he cried, "You are no parliament; I say you are no parliament. Bring them in, bring them in." The door was now opened, and Colonel Worsley entered at the head of more than twenty soldiers. "This is not honest," cried Sir Henry Vane; "yea, it is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane, oh Sir Harry Vane," said Cromwell, "the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane! *He* might have prevented this; but he is a juggler, and has not so much as common honesty." Then, without naming him, he abused Whitelock: pointing to Challoner, he said, "There sits a drunkard;" to Marten and Wentworth, "There are two debauchees" (using a harsher term). He charged others of the members with leading ill lives; and then, suddenly turning to the guard, directed them to clear the house. Harrison advanced to the speaker, and, on his declining to rise, took him by the hand and led him down. As the members were retiring, Cromwell exclaimed, "It is you that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord both day and night, that he would rather slay me than put me on

the doing of this work." Alderman Allen observed that it was not too late to undo all that had been done; when Cromwell charged him with peculation in his office of treasurer of the army, and gave him into custody. Then, looking at the mace, he said, "What shall we do with this fool's bawble? Here, carry it away." He then took the act of dissolution from the clerk, and, putting it under his cloak, proceeded to Whitehall, having ordered the doors to be locked.

In the afternoon Cromwell went with Lambert and Harrison to the council of state. He told the members that if they sat as private individuals they should not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, they should take notice, as they could not be ignorant of what had occurred that morning, that the parliament was dissolved. "Sir," replied Bradshaw, with real or assumed dignity, "we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take *you* notice of that." Cromwell made no reply, and they retired.*

Thus was terminated the Long Parliament, of whom it has been said, with, we fear, as much truth as severity, that "scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them, from their quarrel with the king to their expulsion by Cromwell."† They fell unlamented by the nation,‡ though a few enthusiasts have chanted dirges to their memory. The praises of their panegyrists, we may also observe, are almost wholly confined to their successes

* We hear no more of Bradshaw. He died in 1659, just before the Restoration. Cromwell, on his return to the council of officers, who were waiting in anxious suspense to know the result of his measures, after giving them an account of what he had done, concluded by saying that he had not intended to have gone so far. "But," he added, "perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood."—*Am. Ed.*

† Hallam, ii., 209.

‡ See Appendix (K).

in war; but these are surely the praises of Cromwell, Blake, and such men, and not of the parliament. Their financial system was as simple as that of an Eastern despot: they imposed enormous taxes, and levied them by the swords of the soldiery; if on any occasion they wanted money, they ordered the sale of delinquents' estates; if timber was required for the navy, they directed the woods of some delinquent to be felled. In such cases no justice was to be had from them. Lord Craven, for example, had been out of England all the time of the war; and one might therefore have concluded that no charge of delinquency could be made against him: but some one having sworn that he had seen the king in Holland, the parliament voted that his lands should be sold, though it is said he convicted the informer of perjury. Many other acts of oppression of a similar nature are to be found. At the same time they were most liberal in providing for themselves; they, of course, monopolized all lucrative offices; and, in perusing Whitelock and the Journals, the admirers of these self-styled republicans will be surprised at the sums which they voted themselves under the name of arrears, compensations for losses, etc. Neither should their High Court of Justice, and their abolition of trial by jury be forgotten: still, at the same time, it should be recorded to their credit, that they always inflicted the penalty of death in a mild form, and never butchered their victims by quartering and embowelling, as had been done under the monarchy.

One most remarkable part of the policy of these pretended republicans has been left almost unnoticed by historians, and that is the selling their prisoners for slaves. This we may suppose they did in imitation of the Greeks and Romans. They actually commenced this practice during the lifetime of the king: for the Welsh taken by Cromwell in 1648 were sold into the plantations.* The same, as we have seen,

* Walker (p. 65), having said that Weaver moved in the house (in 1648) "that all Kent might be sequestered because they had

was the fate of the Scots after the battle of Worcester. That the wretched Irish should have been sold without compunction was a matter of course, but even the English were not treated any better: for, as we shall see, Cromwell, after the rising of Grove and Penruddock in 1655, sold the prisoners for slaves. The tyranny of Charles, even, did not extend so far as this. We shall find, however, that the example of the commonwealth was not lost on his sons.*

rebelled, and all Essex because they would rebel," adds, "and truly this is as good a way as Cromwell's selling his Welsh prisoners for 12*d.* a head to be transported into barbarous plantations." Walker's work, it is to be observed, was printed in 1649. Elsewhere (p. 144) he says, "By their instruments, called *Spirits*, they have taken up many children, and sent them before to be slaves and drudges to the godly in their schismatical plantations, as the Turk takes up children from the Christians to furnish his nursery of janizaries."

* This appears too sweeping a condemnation of the Long Parliament. There were not wanting in it virtuous men and true patriots, as the name of Algernon Sidney will attest. The civil war had been successfully terminated under their government, and the arms of the nation were triumphant over her foreign foes; nor is it to be doubted, we think, that, during the first years of its existence at least, something was achieved for the cause of civil liberty. At the same time, it is not to be denied, that in the end they scandalously abused their power as a body, and became far more anxious to promote their own personal ends than the public good.—*Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTECTORATE.

1653-1655.

Form of Government.—Barebone's Parliament.—Cromwell made Protector.—Conspiracies.—The Parliament.—Rising of Royalists.—Conquest of Jamaica.—Conspiracy.—New Parliament.—The Petition and Advice.—The Protector's Inauguration.—Death of Blake.—A fourth Parliament.—Plots.—Illness and Death of the Protector.—His Character.

The first step taken by Cromwell and the council of officers was, on the 22d of April, to put forth a declaration of their grounds and reasons for dissolving the parliament. They then proceeded to the formation of a new council of state. Lambert proposed that it should consist of ten or twelve members: but the fanatic Harrison was strongly in favour of seventy, that being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Thirteen was finally fixed on, that being the number of Christ and his apostles; and the new council consisted of nine officers (Cromwell included) and four civilians.

The government continued to be exercised for a considerable time in the most anomalous manner: some measures emanating from the council of state, some from that of the officers, and others from the lord-general. A ready obedience was, however, everywhere yielded; the army and navy never hesitated in their fidelity; and the courts of law all proceeded in their usual course. Still this state of things was felt to be anything but secure: for a government without a parliament was a monster in the eyes of the people of England. Cromwell was, at the same time, aware that the crisis for his assumption of absolute authority had not yet arrived. It was requisite, therefore, to have a parliament of some kind: but, as he

feared to make the experiment of a general election in the ancient manner, the following plan was adopted after he and his officers had spent a week in close consultation. The ministers were directed to take the sense of the "congregational churches" in the different counties respecting persons "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," and to transmit their names to the council. Out of these the council, in the presence of the lord-general, selected one hundred and thirty-nine members for England; to whom, with six for Wales, six for Ireland, and four for Scotland, writs were issued on the 8th of June, signed by Cromwell, summoning them to appear at Whitehall on the 4th of July, as members for the places named in the writs, to take on them the trust of government.

On the appointed day the new members, to the number of one hundred and twenty, appeared at Whitehall. They seated themselves round the council-table; and Cromwell, standing by the middle window, with his officers on each side, addressed them in a strain of great seeming piety, the inspiration, as his hearers were credulous enough to believe, of the Holy Spirit. They had been called to their high office, he told them, by God himself: he should not, therefore, presume to give them any charge, but only pray that they might exercise the judgment of mercy and truth, and be faithful to all the saints, however they might differ in their forms of worship. He anticipated, he said, from this day, the commencement of the reign of Christ; and, having finished his "grave, Christian, and seasonable" speech, he placed on the table an instrument under his hand and seal, giving them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months, at the end of which they were to transfer it to another assembly, chosen by themselves for the same period.

The following day the convention met at the parliament-house. They devoted the entire day to pious exercises; and many declared that "they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all

their lives as they did on that day." They were, taken together, an honest, conscientious set of men, occupying respectable stations in life, and possessing, if not large, independent estates. But many of them had adopted extravagant notions both in religion and politics, which they held with great pertinacity, inasmuch as they had no doubt of their truth, and they knew themselves to be single-minded. A leather-seller in London, named Praise-God Barebone,* being one of the members, the assembly was called, in derision, Barebone's Parliament: its other popular appellation was the Little Parliament. They invited Cromwell and four of the principal officers to sit among them, but they had no thought of submitting to his dictation. He had styled them the supreme authority; and they were determined to act as such, and without control.

Being resolved to lose no time in the correction of abuses, and in the introduction of necessary reforms in all departments, they appointed, on the 20th, eleven committees for various objects: one of which was the advancement of learning; another, the state of prisons and prisoners; and a third, provision for the poor. Economy and reform were (as at the present day) the great objects professed to be had in view. In pursuit of the former, they regulated the excise and treasury; abolished useless offices, and reduced the salaries in such as were retained; and caused the public accounts to be strictly audited. This was all highly praiseworthy: but religion and the law were regarded as matters of far greater importance; and here their proceedings were altogether of the root-and-branch character.

The condition of the law was certainly bad enough, but they regarded it as a perfect Augean stable. There were said to be not less than twenty-three thousand causes pending in the court of chancery, some of which had been there twenty, and others even thirty years;

* Or rather Barbone, as it was more usually written. The list of the Sussex jury, given by Hume in this place, is evidently a piece of royalist waggery.—See Godwin, iii., 524.

the expenses were enormous, and the justice of the decisions suspected. Their remedy was a very simple one: to abolish the whole system. But then came the question, what to be done with the pending causes? Bills to provide for this object were introduced and rejected, but one was on the eve of being passed just as the parliament was dissolved. The whole body of the law being in their eyes a mere chaos, made up of traditions, statutes, and decisions, often obscure, and not unfrequently contradictory, it was deemed the wisest course to do away with it altogether, and to form it in a reasonable code, that might be comprised in a pocket-volume, and be accessible to all men, and not a mystery, as it had been hitherto, known only by a few. A committee was accordingly appointed to effect this, and a commencement was made with the articles *Treason* and *Murder*.

In matters of religion, one of the first points which presented itself was that of advowsons. Nothing appears to be (perhaps nothing is) more adverse to the spirit of true religion, than that a layman, merely as the owner of land, should have the right of imposing a religious teacher on a parish, and should be able even to sell that right, like any other species of property. It was therefore resolved that the right of presentation should be taken away, and that the parishioners should be empowered to choose their own pastors. The subject of tithes had been the very first to engage their attention. The members of the committee of religion were, however, of Cromwell's party, and not of the more rigid religionists: they delayed for five months making a report; and, when they at length did, they gave it as their opinion that incumbents and impropriators had a property in the tithes. In the debate, however, which ensued, the committee and their friends were defeated; and it was generally rumoured and expected that the parliament would proceed to the abolition of tithes.

They also passed an act on the subject of marriages, requiring that in all cases they should be preceded by a publication of banns, either in the church or in the

market on a market-day, and that the ceremony should take place before a justice of peace for the county.*

This fearless, honest, but ill-judging assembly had thus raised themselves a host of enemies of the most formidable description: the whole body of lawyers, the clergy, and the aristocracy. Cromwell now saw that he might safely dismiss the parliament; and that, being regarded by these several classes as their only security against the inroads of fanaticism, the time had at length arrived when he might assume the despotic power for which he had long thirsted.

The vote on the report of the committee of religion had been taken on Saturday, the 10th of December. Sunday was spent by Cromwell and his friends in secret deliberation; and early on Monday they appeared in the house, when Colonel Sydenham made a speech, in which he recapitulated all that had been done, and showed how injurious their measures were to every order in the state. He said he could no longer think of sitting in such an assembly, and moved that they should go in a body and resign their power into the hands of the lord-general. This motion was violently opposed: but it was not by argument that Sydenham and his party expected to succeed. Rous, the speaker, who was in their interest, now left the chair and went out, followed by the sergeant, the clerk, and nearly fifty of the members. Thirty-five remained; and, while they were consulting what was best to be done, Colonel Goffe and Major White arrived with a party of soldiers, and requested them to withdraw. Seeing that resistance was vain, they yielded, and the doors were locked.

As soon as the speaker and his train reached Whitehall, they retired to one of the rooms, and then drew up and signed an instrument of resignation. They then obtained an audience of the general, who affect-

* This had been already proposed in the Long Parliament, and it was confirmed by that of 1656. Mr. Hallam approves of it, but we are of the opinion that the marriage-rite can hardly be invested with too much solemnity.

ed the utmost surprise, and was with difficulty persuaded by Lambert and others to accept of it. The instrument was left in a room in the palace to receive the signatures of other members, and on the third day the number amounted to eighty, a majority of the whole. In the mean time a new constitution had been prepared, and submitted by Lambert to the council of officers, which gave to Cromwell the authority, though not the title of a king.

The following day, the 16th, Cromwell was installed in his new office. The street was lined from Whitehall to Westminster Hall; the general arrived in his coach at one o'clock; at the door of the palace the procession was formed, headed by the judges and other law officers, the lord-mayor and aldermen, all in their robes; then came the general, in a suit and cloak of black velvet, with long boots, and a broad gold band round his hat, followed by the councils of state and of the army. They proceeded to the court of chancery, where the general took his seat on a chair of state, surrounded by the members of the bench; the civilians stood on the right, and the military on the left of the court. Lambert now came forward; and in the name of the army and of the three kingdoms, prayed him to accept the office of Protector of the Commonwealth. The Instrument of Government, as the plan of the new constitution was called, was then read by one of the clerks of the council. Cromwell having with feigned reluctance given his consent, the oath was read to him by the lord-commissioner Lisle, and he signed it. Lambert then, on his knees, offered him the civic sword in a scabbard; he took it, at the same time laying aside his military one. He then sat down and put on his hat; the commissioners presented the seal to him, and the lord-mayor the sword; he received them and handed them back; and, after exercising these acts of sovereignty, he returned to Whitehall. The next day the new government was proclaimed, with the ceremonies usual on the accession of a king.

The substance of the Instrument was, that the su-

preme authority should be in the lord protector and the parliament; the protector to be assisted by a council of not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons, who were declared to be irremovable, except for corruption or other betrayal of their trust. The functions of royalty generally were to be exercised by the protector, with the consent of parliament or the council. A parliament was to be summoned for the 3d of September, 1654, and once in every third year, reckoning from the dissolution of the last; and was not to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, for the space of five months, without its own consent. This body was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. The smaller boroughs were disfranchised, the number of county members increased, and the qualification for electors was the possession of an estate, real or personal, of the value of £200. Those persons who had aided or abetted the royal cause in the late wars, were declared to be incapable either of being elected or of voting at elections for the next and the three succeeding parliaments. Catholics, and the aiders and abettors of the Irish rebellion, were to be disfranchised for ever. A provision, more certain and less subject to objection than tithes, was to be made for the teachers of religion. All who professed faith in God through Jesus Christ were to be protected: but this liberty was not to extend "to popery or prelacy, or to such as, under the profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness," etc., etc.

Thus, by taking advantage of a train of favourable circumstances, Cromwell had at last raised himself to the summit on which, since his victory at Worcester, he had probably fixed his view. His usurpation, however, if such it is to be called, was the greatest benefit that could befall the country in its present condition. "It secured the nation," says Hallam, "from the mischievous lunacy of the fanatics, and from the more cool-blooded tyranny of that little oligarchy which arrogated to itself the name of commonwealth's men." Had the fanatical leaders recovered their pow-

er, they would have bound their odious, intolerant religious despotism on the necks of the people; and the royalists, had they been triumphant, would have introduced the plentitude of absolute power; whereas the rule of Cromwell gave time for men's minds to settle.

As by the Instrument the ordinances of the protector and the council previously to the meeting of parliament were to have the force of laws, he took an early occasion to repeal the engagement: he introduced also a new law of treason; drew up an ordinance of union, accompanied by an act of oblivion, with Scotland; another appointing commissioners to approve of public preachers, and one for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers.

The parties from whom Cromwell had most to dread (for the Presbyterians seem at this time to have been quiescent) were the Anabaptists and the Royalists. His old assistant, Harrison, and some of the other officers, belonged to the former; and Harrison, when asked if he would acknowledge and submit to the present power, frankly replied that he would not. His commission was therefore taken from him, and shortly after he was placed in confinement. Some others were removed, and the rest complied with the new order of things. Against the Anabaptist ministers the protector proceeded with some rigour. During the time of the Little Parliament, thinking that they had the modelling of the nation in their own hands, they used to meet every Monday evening at Blackfriars for prayer and discussion. These meeting were now suprressed; and two of the preachers, Feake and Powel, who had in their sermons declaimed against the protector as a "dissembling, perjured villain," and threatened him with "a worse fate than had befallen the late tyrant," were sent prisoners to Windsor.

The royalists, on their side, had recourse to conspiracies; and in the month of February, 1654, several were arrested. It appeared, however, to have been merely a wild plot of some hot-headed persons, and nothing could be made of it. But in the following

month of May, a scheme to assassinate the protector on his way to Hampton Court was discovered. About forty persons, among whom were the Earl of Oxford, the two Ashburnhams, Sir Richard Willis, Sir Gilbert Gerard and his brother John, were arrested. John Gerard, Somerset, Fox, and one Vowel, a schoolmaster, alone were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Fox pleaded guilty; and the other three were convicted on the evidence of ten of their accomplices, one of whom was Gerard's brother Charles, a youth of nineteen, he himself being but two-and-twenty. Vowel was hanged; Gerard obtained the favour of being beheaded, and suffered on Tower Hill on the 10th of July, avowing his royalism, but denying all participation in the conspiracy.

On the same day with Gerard another young man also suffered, in whose case the protector showed that, in his regard to justice, he would be checked by no pretended privileges. In the preceding November, Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, had had an accidental quarrel in the New Exchange in the Strand with John Gerard, whose fate we have just related. The day after he came with twenty companions, all armed, and, taking a person named Greenway for Gerard, fell on and murdered him. They then took refuge in the house of the ambassador, but they were seized and committed to Newgate. The plea of privilege was disregarded, as it was maintained to be only personal to the ambassador. They were tried before a mixed jury of natives and foreigners, and Sa and four more were found guilty. Three were pardoned; but Sa and the other were executed, notwithstanding the interposition of all the foreign ambassadors.

With respect to the royalist conspiracies, it is probable that they were not unknown to Charles II. Cromwell, though he declared that he did not believe in them, still threatened retaliation, and hinted that he was in no want of instruments. The royalists in the Highlands of Scotland, headed by Middleton, whom Charles had sent over, and encouraged by An-

gus, Montrose, Athol, Lorn, and other noblemen, had bid defiance to the English troops: but they were speedily dispersed by the vigour of Monk; Ireland was also completely subdued; foreign powers sought the friendship of the protector; and it only remained for him to terminate the war with the United Provinces in order to consummate his glory.

While all the late internal changes were taking place in England, the Dutch war had not been neglected. In May, 1653, each nation sent a flect of one hundred sail to sea. The English were commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawson; the Dutch by Tromp, Ruyter, Witt, and Evertson. They met off the North Foreland on the 2d of June, and the action lasted the entire day. Dean and Monk were in the same ship; the former was killed by a chain-shot, when Monk instantly flung his cloak over him, lest the men should be discouraged. In the night Blake joined him, with eighteen ships, and the battle was renewed the next day. A panic seized the Dutch; and, though Tromp fired on them to rally them, they fled. The loss of the Dutch was twenty-one sail, that of the English only one.*

The States had already, at the desire of the merchants, appointed ambassadors to treat of peace: but they had not yet set out on their mission at the time of this great victory. On their arrival in England on the 22d of June, they found the demands of the council as high as those of the parliament had been. At length, on the 26th of July, Cromwell told them that England would be content if Tromp were dismissed for a while from his command, and the States would consent to a federative union between the two countries. Two of them returned to the Hague for fresh instructions; and in the mean time another battle was fought, and another victory gained by the English. Monk and Tromp, each with one hundred ships, engaged off the coast of Holland on the 31st.

* It is to be observed that the English ships built by Charles I. were mostly larger than those of the Dutch.

The battle was long doubtful: but at length Tromp fell, shot through the heart by a musket-ball; and the Dutch lost courage and fled. Their loss is uncertain: Monk reported that twenty sail were sunk, while they acknowledged only nine. No ships were taken.

The negotiations for peace were resumed in October, and, after a great variety of manœuvres and delays, a treaty was signed on the 5th of April, 1654, Cromwell receding from all the lofty pretensions of the parliament. By a secret article, the States of Holland engaged never to elect the Prince of Orange for their stadtholder, nor to give him the command of the army and navy. Commercial treaties were also about this time made with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal; and France and Spain were rivals for the favour of the protector.

In this state of things Cromwell met his parliament, the elections for which had been perfectly free. As the 3d of September happened to fall on a Sunday, the protector requested the members to meet him on Monday, at sermon time, in the abbey. He proceeded thither in great state. First rode two troops of the life-guards; next, some hundreds of officers and gentlemen, bareheaded; his highness's lackeys and pages, in rich liveries, walked before his coach, and a captain of the guard was on each side of it; his son-in-law, Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger richly caparisoned, followed; and then came the great officers of state and the members of the council in coaches. After sermon, the protector and the members repaired to the Painted Chamber, where he addressed them in a speech of three hours' length, displaying the wretched, disorganized state of the nation at the close of the Little Parliament, and contrasting it with the prosperous and settled condition to which it had since been brought. It was for them, he said, to put the top-stone to the work, and complete the happiness of the nation. He then desired them to repair to their own house and choose a speaker.

Lenthall was elected to this office without a divis-

ion. Though Vane and some others of the leading republicans were not in the assembly, Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scot were there, and it soon appeared that the friends of the protector were not in the majority. The parties came at once to a trial of strength on the question whether the government should be in a single person and successive parliaments. It was debated with great vigour during four successive days (from the 8th to the 11th inclusive) in a committee of the whole house. On the fourth day, Judge Hale proposed a middle course, in which the republicans seemed inclined to acquiesce: but Cromwell had already determined how he would act. On the following morning, the members, on going to the house, found the doors locked, and the avenues filled with soldiers; and they were told that his highness would meet them in the Painted Chamber. He there showed them how the Long Parliament had brought on its dissolution by its despotism, the last by its imbecility; and that power had been conferred on him, against his will, by the voice of the people, signified in various ways. He told them that, in the Instrument of Government, in virtue of which they now sat, four points were fundamental. 1. The supreme power in a single person. 2. Parliaments to be successive, not perpetual. 3. Neither protector nor parliament to have the sole command of the army. 4. Liberty of conscience. These they might not touch; other points might be amended. He therefore had caused to be prepared a Recognition of these points, which they must sign before he could allow them to sit again. He then dismissed them. About three hundred subscribed this recognition; nevertheless, though the more violent republicans were thus excluded, the house did not prove quite so manageable as had been expected.

Shortly after, an accident occurred which was near bringing the protector's ambition to a sudden termination. The Duke of Oldenburg had sent him a present of six Friesland coach-horses. On the 5th of October he went, with his secretary Thurloe and some of

his gentlemen, to Hyde Park, and dined under the trees. After dinner, the fancy took him to drive his coach himself; and he mounted the box, putting Thurloe inside. For some time he went on very well: but, on his beginning to use the whip rather freely, the horses broke into a gallop and ran away. The postillion was thrown off; Cromwell himself fell on the pole, his foot became entangled in the harness, and a pistol which he had in his pocket went off. At length his foot fortunately came out of his shoe, while he fell under the body of the coach, and thus escaped. Thurloe, who had leaped out, also received some bruises; and they were both confined to their rooms for two or three weeks. The cavaliers prophesied that Cromwell's next fall would be from a cart.

Meanwhile the parliament went on discussing the Instrument, but carefully shunning the forbidden points. Soon after the protector's accident, the question of the succession was brought before them. Lambert, in a long and able speech, dwelt on the evils of elective succession, and recommended that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell; but the motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred to eighty; and it was resolved, that on his death the successor should be chosen by the parliament, if sitting; if not, by the council. Cromwell waited patiently till the five lunar months were expired;* the parliament then, who had just completed and read a third time their revision of the Instrument, were once more summoned to the Painted Chamber. In a long speech he reproached them with having done nothing during five months, unless it were to give encouragement to the cavaliers and levellers to combine in intrigues against the commonwealth, and he concluded by telling them that the parliament was dissolved.

The coalition of royalists and republicans to which Cromwell alluded was no fiction. The common ha-

* "The month in law is always of twenty-eight days, unless the contrary be expressed. This seems, however, not to have been generally understood at the time."—Hallam, ii., 335.

tred of him united them; and each hoped that, when he should be overthrown, they would be able to subdue their allies and establish their own system. Some of the leading republicans, such as Colonel Overton and Major Wildman, even entered into correspondence with the exiled king. Okey, Alured, Lawson, and Hacker held consultations with Wildman, at which Marten and Lord Grey of Groby are said to have been sometimes present. Of the co-operation of Haselrig, Harrison, Carew, and some others, there seems to have been no doubt. The vigilance of the government, however, disconcerted all their plans.* Overton was arrested, and sent up from Scotland; and Lord Grey, Harrison, and Carew were committed to different prisons. Wildman was taken in the very act of dictating "The Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq."†

The general rising of the royalists had been fixed for the beginning of March, 1655. Wilmot (now Earl of Rochester) and Sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to take the command of them; and Charles himself, with Ormond and others, moved from Cologne to Middleburg, to be ready to pass over to Eng-

* "The vigilance of Cromwell," says one of his biographers, "stimulated by his fears, was never at fault. He had spies in every regiment, and almost in every house; in the tents of his own officers, and the chamber of Charles the Second at Cologne and at Paris; by such means, in the organization of which he appears to have spent his days and nights, he could suppress mutiny when on the eve of breaking out, and remove faithless commanders at the very moment when they were about to draw their swords against him."—Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii., 150, Harpers' Family Library.—*Am. Ed.*

† A part of Whitelock's remarks on this conspiracy are as follows: "Divers suspected their designs at the bottom in it to intend the bringing in of the king; because they conclude in their declaration for a *truly free parliament*, which was the way for the king's restauration. And that began now to be held fit and requisite by many sober and faithful patriots, who were distasted at the private ambition of some and their domineering." He hints that he was himself of this way of thinking. We everywhere meet with proofs of the general wish for the restoration of the monarchy.

land. The wakeful eye of the government, however, was on their projects, and the partial risings which they excited in Yorkshire and the west were easily suppressed. Sir Henry Slingsby and Sir Richard Malever, who had been with Wilmot at the head of the former, were taken, but Wilmot himself escaped. In the west, Wagstaff, being joined by Colonel Penruddock, Captain Grove, and about two hundred others, entered Salisbury on Sunday night, March 11, and seized in their beds the judges and the sheriff, who were there to hold the assizes next day. In the morning Wagstaff prepared to hang them: but Penruddock and others, shocked at such barbarity, interposed so warmly that he consented to their liberation. The insurgents then proclaimed the king: but, finding that none joined them, and that a re-enforcement which they expected from Hampshire did not arrive, they retired and passed through Dorset into Devon, where they were attacked at South Molton by Captain Crooke, and routed. Wagstaff made his escape, and the rest surrendered. Cromwell resolved to venture on trying them by jury; and, as their guilt was manifest according to the existing laws, they were all found guilty. Grove and Penruddock were beheaded; some were hanged, others pardoned; and the remainder, without any regard to their station in life, were, in the usual way, shipped off for slaves to Barbadoes.

Hitherto Cromwell had been lenient to the royalists in the hopes of gaining them: but of this he now despaired, and resolved to keep measures with them no longer. A great number of noblemen and gentlemen were arrested; the Episcopal clergy were forbidden to act as schoolmasters or tutors, or to use the church service either in public or private; popish priests were ordered to quit the kingdom under pain of death; and cavaliers and papists were not to come within less than twenty miles of the city. He finally *decimated* the royalists: that is, imposed an annual income-tax of ten per cent. on all possessing £100 a year and upward in land, or £1500 in personal property, who had ever borne arms for the king, or de-

clared themselves to be of the royal party. Thus he openly trampled on the Act of Oblivion, which he had formerly, when it suited his purpose, pressed on so strenuously. The reason he assigned for this exaction was, that, as by their obstinately keeping themselves separate from the rest of the nation they were a continual cause of danger, it was but just that they should be made to defray the expenses incurred in guarding against it.

For the collection of this tax, and carrying into effect his other arbitrary measures, he divided England into eleven districts, over each of which he set a major-general.* These officers were invested with most extensive authority: they were empowered to raise troops, levy the taxes, disarm cavaliers and papists, inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters, and arrest and imprison dangerous and suspected persons. When to these we add the arbitrary system of general taxation continued or imposed, the high courts of justice, and the interference with the functions of judges and advocates, we have a picture of despotism before which that of the Stuarts almost sinks into insignificance.†

We now turn to the foreign affairs of the protector's government. France and Spain, we have seen, were competitors for his favour. Of all the states of Europe, Spain was, perhaps, the one with which there was least ground of quarrel: it had given no countenance whatever to the royal family, and had been the first to acknowledge the commonwealth. But, on the other hand, Cromwell was a zealous Protestant, and Spain was bigotedly Catholic, and the chief seat of the Inquisition; and the gold and silver which she drew from America were, moreover, tempting to the protector's cupidity. He did not see why Spain should

* These were Lambert, Desborough, Whalley, Goffe, Fleetwood, Skippon, Kelsey, Butler, Worseley, Berry, and Barkstead.

† Even Cromwell himself had no longer the face to prate about liberty. He compared himself at this time, it is said, to a constable in a mob, who was obliged, by whatever means, to quell riots and preserve the peace.—*Am. Ed.*

monopolize the wealth of an immense country (the innocent people of which she had so barbarously massacred), and treat as pirates the crews of all ships which were found in those latitudes. He therefore demanded of Cardeñas, the Spanish ambassador, that the trade of the English in the Atlantic should be free. He also required that the English merchants settled in Spain should be secured from molestation by the Inquisition. Cardeñas replied, that the American monopoly and the Inquisition were his master's two eyes, neither of which he would consent to have put out. The Spanish court, in the mean time, aware that Cromwell was equipping a fleet, and fearing that it might be intended for the West Indies, sent the Marquis of Leyda to London: but, after staying there five months, he returned without having effected anything.

Cromwell had, in fact, prepared two fleets; and one of thirty sail, under Blake, had sailed in the preceding month of October, 1655, to the Mediterranean, to obtain satisfaction for injuries done to the English trade by the states around that sea. Blake first cast anchor before the port of Leghorn, and made the Duke of Tuscany pay £60,000 for losses sustained by English subjects in his dominions. On the 10th of March, 1656, he sailed to Algiers, and required the Dey to deliver up the English ships and men taken by his piratical cruisers. Having received a conciliatory reply, he then proceeded to Tunis, where he made a similar demand: but the Dey haughtily bade him destroy the castles of Goletta and Porto Fernio, and his fleet, if he was able. Blake speedily silenced the fire of these castles, and, entering the harbour, burned nine ships of war that were lying there. Thence he sailed to Tripoli, whose Dey submitted at once to his demands. Having thus chastised these pirates, he returned to England.

The other fleet, consisting of thirty sail, commanded by Admiral Penn, and having on board four thousand troops under General Venables, sailed towards the close of December for the West Indies, with sealed orders. On arriving at Barbadoes on

the 29th of January, they opened their instructions; and, having enlisted and formed into regiments a large number of those who had been sent thither as slaves, and thus raised their force to nine thousand men, to which they added twelve hundred more at St. Kitt's, they sailed to Hispaniola: but, instead of entering the port of St. Domingo at once, when the town would probably have submitted, they landed the troops at a distance of forty miles from it. Here a mutiny broke out, in consequence of commissioner Winslow's issuing a proclamation, declaring, in Roman fashion, that all plunder should be public property. These discontents having been appeased by Venables, the troops marched for three days under a burning sun; and, living chiefly on unripe fruits, diseases broke out among them. At length they were joined by a detachment which had landed within ten miles of the town. As they advanced they fell into an ambuscade; and, though they drove off the enemy, their success was of no avail; the diseased condition of the army compelling them to fall back to the station where they had met the detachment, and at which they remained for a week. When, on the 25th, they again advanced towards the town, they found the road, lying through a thick wood, commanded by a battery, and the sides lined with Spanish marksmen. The advance guard fell back in disorder on a regiment of foot, and these on a troop of horse; and all was confusion, till, at length, a body of seamen cleared the wood; but night coming on, they retreated once more to their former station. Here a council of war having decided that success was now hopeless, it was resolved to re-embark the troops. On the 3d of May they left Hispaniola: but, as the commanders feared to return without effecting something, on the 10th they made a descent on the island of Jamaica, the inhabitants offering no resistance; but, as they had placed the greater part of their property in security, the booty obtained was small. By Cromwell and the nation generally, the acquisition of Jamaica was thought a matter of no importance: still there

were some who saw farther ahead, and who regarded it as being of more value to England than Hispaniola would have been. Penn and Venables were, on their return, both committed to the Tower by the indignant and disappointed protector. They had shown themselves inefficient commanders; having, by their want of harmony, almost ensured failure.

Cromwell at this time acquired no small reputation by his prompt and effectual interference in behalf of the Vaudois, or Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Perusa, and San Martino, in Piedmont, who were cruelly persecuted by their Catholic sovereign The Vaudois, it appears, were ordered to give up a part of the valley of Lucerne, at which they expressed their dissatisfaction, and the Duke of Savoy forthwith quartered troops among them. The soldiers acted with insolence and tyranny, and the people resisted: they were, however, overpowered, and on the 21st of April about three hundred of the inhabitants of Lucerne were massacred, with all the circumstances, we are assured, of the most revolting barbarity. When the intelligence reached England, Cromwell lost no time in sending off under-secretary Morland as his envoy to Turin. He wrote letters, at the same time, to all the Protestant states of Europe, and made the security of the Vaudois a *sine quâ non* in the treaty which was then pending with the court of France. The duke was consequently obliged to allow to his Protestant subjects the free exercise of their religion; and Cromwell sent them a sum of money from himself, in addition to what had been collected for them in the churches by his permission.

When the Spanish court was certified of the attempt on Hispaniola, it was thrown into great perplexity, being already engaged in a war with France. It could not, however, tamely pass over such an indignity; and it was therefore resolved, on the 1st of September, to lay an embargo on the English ships and property in Spain. At the same time, Cardeñas received orders to remonstrate, and, if not satisfied, to withdraw. He accordingly left England on the 24th of

October; and, the day after his departure, Cromwell put forth a declaration, justifying the war on his part: he signed, also, the treaty with France, by a secret article of which ten Frenchmen, whose names were mentioned, were to be excluded from the British dominions, and Charles II., the Duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, and fifteen others, from those of France.

Among the events of this year may be noticed the return of the Jews to England, where they had not been allowed to reside since the reign of Edward I. Manasseh Ben Israel, a distinguished rabbi, proceeded to England to negotiate with the protector on this subject; and, though the bigotry of the committee appointed to consider his propositions did not allow Cromwell to go as far as he wished, he permitted them to come over, to build a synagogue, and to purchase ground for a cemetery.

The motto of political parties seems too often to be, *Flectere si nequeo superos*,* etc.: in other words, they are willing to join with those whom they most hate, in order to overthrow an object of common aversion. In accordance with this principle, we now meet the sectarian levellers again in alliance with the royalists, and even with the court of Spain. Edward Sexby, a man who had risen from the ranks to the post of colonel, had been an admirer of Cromwell, and his agent in the army. He had likewise been a leading agitator, and a zealot for liberty. When, therefore, his former idol apostatized, he became his inveterate foe. After the arrest of Wildman and others, Sexby, who had escaped being taken, went through the country distributing pamphlets. In the May of this year he went over to Brussels, where he informed the Count Fuensaldaña of the real destination of the fleet under Penn and Venables; and offered the aid of the levellers against the protector, if they were furnished with money. Fuensaldaña sent him to Madrid, where he was well received, and obtained 40,000 crowns,

* Or, as the whole sentence would read in English, If we cannot propitiate the gods, we will move the infernals.—*Am. Ed.*

with which he returned to Antwerp, whence he sent various sums to his confederates in England. Though Cromwell had got information of the plot, and even seized a remittance of £800, Sexby crossed the Channel, remained for some time in England, and returned in safety.

Charles had offered to enter into an alliance with the Spanish cabinet after the rupture with England. He engaged also to recall to his standard the English and Irish regiments in the service of France; boasted of his influence in the English navy; and, like Sexby, only asked for money. After a long period of the usual delay, the court of Spain finally resolved to accept both offers, and to effect a union between Charles and Sexby. The latter stated that it was the wish of his friends to have a free parliament; and that, if this could be brought about, there was no doubt that Charles would be restored, though with some limitations of his authority. The plan fixed upon was, that Charles should raise four regiments from among his English subjects in the service of France; that Spain should furnish a body of six thousand men; and that the levellers should secure for them a port and fortress not far distant from London, where they might effect a landing.

While this conspiracy was secretly organizing against him, Cromwell issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 17th of September. Great excitement prevailed; the government, its major-generals and other agents, made every exertion to procure favourable returns; while, on the other side, pamphlets calling on the people to come forward to the rescue of their liberties were everywhere circulated. The result was, that, though Scotland and Ireland returned the candidates recommended by the government, England sent to the parliament a great many, such as Haselrig and Scot, strongly opposed to the protector. For this, however, Cromwell had a remedy; as the council was empowered by the Instrument to decide on the qualifications of the members returned, under various pretexts, chiefly of delinquency or immorality,

he caused tickets of admission to be refused to about one hundred persons. The excluded members published a bold and earnest Remonstrance; of which, however, though written in a most daring tone, the protector deemed it advisable to take no notice, inasmuch as his party had now a clear majority in parliament, and that was all that he wanted.

Acts were speedily passed for repudiating the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and for the better security of the protector's person. The war with Spain was resolved to be just and politic, and a supply of £400,000 was voted. In calling this parliament Cromwell had two main objects in view: the one to obtain supplies in a legal manner, the other to obtain from it the coveted title of king. Various motives probably concurred to make him ambitious of this title, notwithstanding that without it he was in possession of more than regal power. He certainly was not without the common feelings of regard attached to dignified titles rendered venerable by time and long usage; while from affection for his family he may have wished to secure the succession of his son. The name of king, too, was woven into all the institutions of the country; and the lawyers, the clergy, the nobility, and all who were weary of military rule, would be gratified with a prospect of a legal and settled government. Hopes even were entertained that the great body of the royalists, on a return to the ancient forms of the constitution, would become indifferent to the exiled family, and transfer their loyalty to the new dynasty.*

Cromwell, as we have seen by his conversation

* Yet it would seem as if Cromwell had thought at times of restoring Charles. Lord Orrery told Burnet, that one day, when Cromwell asked him what news there was in the city, he replied, there was a report that he, Cromwell, was in treaty with the king, who was to be restored and to marry his daughter. Cromwell did not express any displeasure, and Orrery thereupon recommended it as the best expedient; in answer to which, Cromwell said, "The king can never forgive his father's blood;" and, on Orrery's trying to obviate this objection, he replied, "He is so wofully debauched, he would undo us all."—Burnet, Own Times, i., 128.

with Whitelock, had cherished this idea in his mind for some time. He now consulted on the subject with Thurloe, Pierrepoint, and St. John; and, to gain the good-will of the people, he resolved to commence with putting an end to the arbitrary rule of the major-generals. A bill having been brought in on the 7th of January, 1657, the object of which was to confirm their past acts, and to invest them with legal authority for the future, it was opposed by Claypole, the protector's son-in-law, and by Lord Broghil, his confidant. The debate was continued for ten successive days; and the tyranny of the bashaws, as they were called, was fully exposed: but, headed by Lambert, they defended themselves with no little spirit. To one of their arguments, amounting to this, that the whole body of the cavaliers should be punished for the offences of some, Henry Cromwell, the protector's nephew, replied, that on this principle all the major-generals deserved punishment, since there were abundant proofs that some of them had behaved ill. He was called on to name the individuals, and he professed himself ready to do so, when the debate was adjourned. It was suggested to him that his uncle would not be pleased with his conduct; but he went that very night and told the protector what he had done; and added, that he "had his black book and papers ready to make good what he had said." Cromwell replied in a jesting manner; and, taking off a rich scarlet cloak and his gloves, gave them to Harry, who strutted into the house with them the next day. On the 29th the vote was taken and the bill lost by a very large majority; and thus the major-generals were left exposed to actions at law for their previous conduct.

While this bill was pending, a plot to murder the protector was discovered. The agent was Miles Syndercomb, who had been a quartermaster in Monk's army, but had been dismissed on account of being implicated in Overton's plot. Sexby, when last in England, had arranged the plan with him; and there can be no doubt that Charles and his court knew and approved of it. The death of Cromwell was to be the

signal for the rising of the levellers and royalists, and for the invasion from Flanders. Syndercomb and an accomplice named Cecil bribed Tooke, a life-guardsman, to inform them of the places where Cromwell was expected to pass, intending to shoot him from a window: but something always occurred to disappoint them; and, at Wildman's suggestion, they altered their plan. At six o'clock on the evening of the 9th of January they entered the chapel at Whitehall, and, having set a basket of combustibles in one of the pews, lighted a slow match connected with them, calculated for six hours; but, as they were coming out they were seized, Tooke having betrayed them. Cecil told all that he knew, which amounted only to this, that some persons in the palace were to kill Cromwell in the confusion. Syndercomb was tried and condemned for high treason on the 9th of February; he refused to give any information, and was found dead in his bed a few hours before the time appointed for his execution. The royalists and levellers maintained that he had been strangled by Cromwell's orders: but the verdict of the jury was suicide by snuffing up a poisonous powder.

The pulse of the house having been felt on the subject of kingship, after the discovery of this plot, on the 23d of February, Alderman Pack rose and presented a paper, styled, "An humble Address and Remonstrance," complaining of the present uncertain form of government, and calling on the protector to assume a higher title, etc. The officers instantly rose in a great heat, and Pack was brought before the bar; but order having been restored, and Lord Broghil, with Glyn, Whitelock, and the lawyers and dependants of the court, supporting Pack, the paper was finally read; and it was furthermore resolved to take it into consideration. It was debated, article by article, and was at length adopted, under the title of "The humble Petition and Advice."

The only serious difficulty which Cromwell had now to fear was from the army, in which interest swayed some, and fanaticism others, to oppose him. Lam-

bert, in particular, was violently against his assuming the title of king; for, being the second person in the country, and a vain, ambitious man, he looked forward to succeeding himself to the protectorate. He proposed, therefore, to the officers, that they should bring up five regiments of cavalry, and compel the house to confirm the Instrument and the establishment of major-generals. They hesitated, however, to adopt this bold measure, and he then withdrew from their councils. The inferior officers also held meetings, and on the 28th they sent one hundred of their number to inform the protector of their sentiments. He reminded them that they had themselves, at a former period, offered him the title of king; he said that he had always been the drudge of the officers; that the parliament had been called contrary to his judgment; and that it required to be controlled, which could only be done by enlarging the authority of the protector. Several were convinced by his reasons, but they were without effect on the majority. They agreed, however, that if the question of the title were kept back to be last considered, they would not oppose his being empowered to name his successor, nor the parliament's consisting of two houses, as he wished.

On the 25th of March the title of king was voted, and, six days after, a committee waited on the protector with The Petition and Advice. He spoke of the "consternation of his mind" at the offer, and requested time "to ask counsel of God and his own heart:"* at the same time approving of everything except the new title to be given him. At his desire, a committee was appointed to consider and resolve his scruples. After various conferences, on the 20th of April he ad-

* "Should I," said this prince of hypocrites, "give any resolution in this suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him who hath been my God and my guide hitherto, it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made in such a business as this is, because it would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, and to arise from ignorance of self."—*Am. Ed.*

mitted that his doubts were removed; and at length he made an appointment to meet the parliament on the 6th of May, when it was fully expected that he would accept the royal title.

Cromwell had vainly endeavoured to win over to his design his brother-in-law and son-in-law, Desborough and Fleetwood. They now told him that they should resign their commissions; and Desborough having informed Pride of what Cromwell was about to do, the latter exclaimed, "He shall not." When asked how he could prevent it, he answered, by a petition signed by the officers. They approved of his plan, and went straight to Dr. Owen, and prevailed on him to draw one up without delay.

The 8th was the day finally fixed on for the protector to meet the parliament. On the morning of that day, Colonel Mason and six-and-twenty other officers came and presented the petition, in which they declared that the design of those who urged the general to take the title of king was to destroy him, and to subject the nation to the old servitude; and they prayed the parliament to continue steady to the good cause, for which they themselves were willing to lay down their lives. As soon as Cromwell heard of this, he sent for Fleetwood, and asked him why he had permitted the thing to proceed so far, when he knew that he would not accept a crown without the consent of the army; and he desired him to go back and instantly stop it. Shortly after the members were summoned to Whitehall, and Cromwell concluded a long and embarrassed speech by formally declining the title of king.

The word *protector* being substituted in its place, Cromwell gave his assent to "The humble Petition and Advice." This instrument empowered him to name his immediate successor, and restored the two houses, giving the protector the right of nominating the members of the *Other House*, as it was styled, but subject to certain restrictions. The inauguration of the protector took place on the 12th of May in Westminster Hall. He stood on a platform at the upper

end of the hall; and the speaker arrayed him in a purple mantle lined with ermine, presented him a Bible superbly bound, also a sword, and placed a golden sceptre in his hand.* The oath was then administered to him, and a long prayer from the chaplain succeeded. The protector sat down between the French and Dutch ambassadors, the Earl of Warwick and the lord-mayor holding a sword on either side of him; the trumpets sounded, and the heralds proclaimed his title, to which the spectators responded. He then rose, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked down the hall to his coach. The house of commons now adjourned for six months. Most of the officers took the oath of fidelity to the protector. Lambert refusing, was deprived of his commissions, worth £6000 a year to him, but he obtained a pension of £2000.

About this time a pamphlet, written with great energy, entitled "Killing no Murder," was published in Holland. The author of it is generally supposed to have been Captain Titus; though Sexby, who sent

* As he delivered these to the protector, the speaker made the following comment on them:

"1. The robe of purple—this is an emblem of magistracy; when you have put on this vestment, I may say you are a gownman. This robe is of a mixed colour, to show the mixture of justice and mercy.

"2. The Bible is the book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and the New; the first shows of *Christum velatum*, the second *Christum revelatum*, Christ vailed and revailed (unvailed); it is a book of books, and doth contain both precepts and examples for good government.

"3. Here is a sceptre not unlike a staff, for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor; it is of ancient use in this kind. It is said in Scripture that the sceptre shall not depart from Judah. It was of the like use in other kingdoms. Homer, the Greek poet, calls kings and princes sceptre-bearers.

"4. The last thing is a sword, not a military, but a civil sword. It is rather a sword of defence than of offence; not to defend yourself only, but your people also. If I might presume to affix a motto upon this sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be thus, *Ego sum domini protectoris, ad protigendum populum meum*—I am the Protector's, to protect my people."—Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii., 170, Harpers' Family Library.—*Am. Ed.*

thousands of copies over to England, claimed it as his own. Declaring Cromwell to be a tyrant, and that it would be meritorious to kill him, and eulogizing Syndercomb, it assured the protector that there were numbers ready to follow that example, and that there was no security for him either in his bed or at his board. Scxby soon came over again, but was taken, and died in prison.

We must now return to the war with Spain. In the spring of 1656 a fleet sailed from Portsmouth under Blake and Montague. Their destination was Cadiz and Gibraltar: but, not feeling themselves strong enough to attack either of these places, they sailed to the Tagus, where they obliged the King of Portugal to ratify the treaty which had been concluded with him, and to pay the stipulated sum of £50,000. They then went to the Mediterranean, and again returned to Lisbon, leaving Captain Stayner, with six frigates, before Cadiz. Soon after, on the 10th of September, a Spanish fleet of eight sail from the Havannah hove in sight; and Stayner, attacking it, sunk four ships, and took two laden with treasure. One of the vessels destroyed was the vice-admiral's, on board of which was the Marquis of Vaydes, the viceroy of Peru, with his wife and seven children. When the ship took fire, the marchioness and her eldest daughter fainted; and the marquis, who would not abandon them, perished with them and one of his sons: the other children were saved and brought to England. The value of the silver taken was estimated at two millions; and Cromwell, to dazzle the populace, caused it to be conveyed in wagons from Portsmouth to London.

As Montague had returned home with the prizes, Blake remained in the sole command; and in the spring of 1657 he sailed for the Canaries, to intercept the plate-fleet from Mexico. He found it already lying in the port of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, the plate-ships, ten in number, being moored in a crescent close to the shore, with seven galleons in a line outside of them; the entrance of the harbour was commanded by the guns of the castle, and around it were seven

batteries. Blake resolved to attack them. He caused a solemn fast to be kept; and the next morning, Stayner leading the van, the fleet entered the harbour under a shower of balls and shells. By two in the afternoon the batteries were silenced, and all the ships in the possession of the English: but the wind which had brought them in now opposed their passage out. Blake therefore ordered the prizes to be burned; and soon after the wind, changing to the southwest, enabled them to get to sea. The English had lost only forty-eight men in this daring action. Blake returned home a short time after: but his health was gone, and he died on the 17th of August, as his ship was entering the harbour of Plymouth. The protector ordered him a magnificent funeral, and his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey.

Blake, like most of the eminent men of his time, was a gentleman by birth and education. He had distinguished himself in the civil war by his gallant defence of Taunton against the royalists. With the sea he was at that period totally unacquainted: but his vigorous mind, when diverted to a new element, soon struck out a new course; and he was the first to show his countrymen how forts and land-batteries could be silenced by shipping. The naval history of England properly begins with Blake and the first Dutch war.

In the month of November Cromwell married his two youngest daughters to Lord Falconberg and Mr. Rich, grandson of Lord Warwick. The bride of the latter, however, became a widow the following February.

In the spring of this year, Lockhart, a Scottish judge, who was married to Cromwell's niece, had proceeded as his envoy to Paris, and a treaty of alliance for one year was concluded with Louis XIV. Cromwell was to furnish a force of six thousand men, and, in return, was to possess Mardyke and Dunkirk when they should be taken. The result of the campaign was the reduction of the former place, which received an English governor.

The parliament met on the 20th of January, 1658, and presented the ancient form of two houses, the protector having summoned by writ sixty persons* to form the *Other House*. Cromwell addressed them in the ancient style, "My Lords, and gentlemen of the House of Commons." But the experiment failed. As by the Petition and Advice the commons were authorized to judge of the qualifications of their members, the excluded individuals had resumed their seats; and there was now a powerful opposition in that body, headed by Haselrig and Scot, which allowed them to occupy themselves with nothing but the title and rights of the other house. Cromwell soothed, and reasoned, and menaced to no purpose. He then decided upon his course with his usual promptitude. On the morning of the 4th of February he threw himself into a coach that was standing at the gate of Whitehall, beckoned to six of the guards to follow him, and drove to the parliament-house. He summoned the commons to his presence; when, as usual, he talked of his dignity having been forced upon him, and reproached them with thwarting instead of aiding him while he was environed with conspiracies, and told them it was therefore time to put an end to their sitting; "and I do dissolve this parliament," said he, "and let God judge between me and you." "Amen, amen," responded several voices. Thus was a fourth parliament dissolved. Addresses to the protector from the army and counties, towns and boroughs, were easily procured, and were published in the newspapers, to convince the world of the popularity of his government.

At the same time several arrests took place, for the conspiracies of which he spoke were no fictions. Ormond was actually in London at this time, negotiating with the various political parties; and transports were collected at Ostend to take over an invading

* Some of these were of the old nobility, and all were in general highly respectable: but he injudiciously placed Pride and Huson among them, and, in consequence, even Warwick refused to attend.

force. But Cromwell had a source of intelligence which the royalists little suspected. There was a select band of six, styled the Sealed Knot, who enjoyed the principal confidence of Charles and his court, and were the directors of the royalists in England. Sir Richard Willis had most influence in the Sealed Knot, and he was in the pay of Cromwell! For Willis having been once arrested, Cromwell, it is said, undertook to prove to him that it was for the interest of the royalists themselves that their plots should be prevented. Willis either was, or affected to be, convinced; and it was accordingly arranged that he should give information, but never be brought forward as a witness, or required to name any person. For this service he received an annual stipend of £200.

The protector, therefore, knew of Ormond's being in London; and, when it was thought that he had been there long enough, a hint was given him, and he hastened to Shoreham and embarked for France. Shortly after, some of the members of the Knot and other royalists were arrested; and Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, John Mordaunt, brother to Lord Peterborough, Sir Humphrey Bennet, and Captain Woodcock, were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Slingsby was a gentleman of advanced age:* he had been a prisoner at Hull ever since the rising in 1655, in which he had been engaged; and the charge against him was, that he had given the officers of the garrison commissions from King Charles. Hewit was an Episcopal clergyman, and an active agent for the exiled king. Mordaunt also had distributed commissions. Hewit refused to plead; but it availed him nothing, and he and Slingsby were both found guilty. Mordaunt was acquitted, the principal witness against him having been bribed to abscond. Slingsby was married to the aunt of Lord Falconberg; and the Lady Claypole strongly interested herself for Hewit: but the protector would hearken to neither daughter nor son-in-law in their favour, and on the 8th of June they

* Slingsby's very interesting Diary has been published.

were both beheaded. Bennet and Woodcock were acquitted.

While Cromwell thus engaged in suppressing conspiracy at home, his arms prospered on the Continent. After a victory gained by Turenne over the Spaniards, on the day last mentioned, in which the valour of the English troops had decided the fortune of the day,* Dunkirk was invested. It surrendered on the 17th, and was delivered up to the English by Louis in person.

Cromwell would seem to have been now at the height of his glory, victorious abroad and absolute at home: but never was his state more precarious; he wanted money, and was surrounded by enemies. To procure the needed supplies, it appeared to be indispensable that he should call a parliament. He appointed, therefore, a council of nine, to devise means for obviating the influence of the republicans in it, for raising a revenue from the estates of the royalists, and for settling the succession. But, after three weeks' deliberation, they came to no important conclusion, and the protector, suspicious of some of the members, on the 8th of July dissolved the council.

To secure himself against the secret attempts of his enemies, he adopted various precautions: he wore armour under his clothes, and carried pistols in his pockets. He drove at full speed, with his coach filled with attendants and surrounded by guards; and he always returned by a different route. He frequently changed his bedchamber, and often personally inspected the night-watch of the palace. His nights were sleepless, or, if he had any repose, it was feverish and disturbed; and the anxiety of his mind visibly preyed on his health. Domestic affliction came also to add to his trials. In the relations of son, husband, and father, no one was more affectionate than Cromwell; and his favourite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole,

* King James II., who was present at this action, in the French service, speaks in his Life with his usual enthusiasm on the subject of the valour of the English.

was now dying of an internal abscess, and the grief occasioned by the death of her youngest son augmented her danger. Cromwell abandoned all affairs of state, and went to Hampton Court, where she lay. He spent much time in her room, and always left it with an air of the deepest melancholy. When her death took place, on the 6th of August, though he had long expected it, the event gave him a great shock.* He was himself confined at the time with a fit of the gout, and was also seized with what was called a bastard tertian ague. One day (the 24th), hearing one of his physicians whisper that his pulse was intermittent, he grew alarmed, caused himself to be put to bed, and executed his will; but the next morning, on the physicians visiting him, he took his wife by the hand, and said, "I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it." Observing their surprise, he added, "Do not think I am mad; I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than your Hippocrates or Galen can furnish. God himself hath given this answer, not to my prayers alone, but to the prayers of those who maintain a stricter correspondence and greater intimacy with him. Go on, therefore, confidently banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man." His confidence extended to his family and friends. "His highness," writes Fleetwood, "has had great discoveries of the Lord to him, and assurances of being restored and made farther serviceable." "Oh Lord," said his chaplain Goodwin, "we pray not for his recovery: that thou hast granted already; what we now beg is his *speedy* recovery."

But these predictions were not to be verified. At Whitehall, whither he had moved, his disease, on the

* It is said that this lady, in her last moments, entreated her father to give up his usurped authority, and restore the throne to its royal claimant; and that, during the periods of delirium with which she was seized, she was constantly uttering the cry of "blood, blood," under a confused recollection, it is supposed, of the tragical death of Dr. Hewit, whose life she vainly endeavoured to save.—*Am. Ed.*

28th, turned to a double tertian; and he became delirious, and, at times, insensible. In one of his lucid intervals, he asked his chaplain, Sterry, if it were possible to fall from grace. On his replying in the negative, "Then," said he, "I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." On the night of the 2d of September he was heard to pray to this effect: "Lord, I am a poor, foolish creature. This people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory; and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins; and do not forsake them, but love, and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen."

The next day (the 3d) was his fortunate day, the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. After long lying insensible, he expired about four in the afternoon, amid the tears of his attendants, and in the sixtieth year of his age. When the news was brought to those who were assembled to pray for his recovery, Sterry is said to have stood up, and to have bid them not be troubled: "for," said he, "this is good news; because, if he was of great use to the people of God when he was among us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions."*

This extraordinary man was a gentleman by birth, and educated at Cambridge, whence he went to Lincoln's Inn: but, instead of devoting himself to the study of the law, he plunged into the vices and excesses of the town. He speedily, however, reformed; and then, running into the opposite extreme, became an enthusiast in religion. In the contest between

* This blasphemous speech, if it were really uttered, displays a combination of superstitious fanaticism and shameless hypocrisy, paralleled only by similar examples in the life of the individual it seeks to canonize.—*Am. Ed.*

the king and parliament, his latent military talents were developed, which did not consist in tactics or manœuvres, but in vigour and decision. He never sought to surprise an enemy: his plan was to fall on him with the utmost impetuosity. He had the art of attaching his soldiers both by his religious exercises and by a coarse kind of buffoonery and jocular language. His great skill in politics lay in knowing how to turn to advantage the opportunities which fortune presented;* and, as a ruler, he sustained the national honour in a manner which called to remembrance the glorious days of Elizabeth. In his domestic relations, the character of Cromwell was every way estimable: he was a sincere friend and a placable enemy. He loved justice, and delighted not in blood: yet ambition made him, at times, trample on the one and shed the other. It is possible that, in the case of the king, he thought himself justified both by reason and revelation to act the part he did. He never lost his sense of religion, though, like many other enthusiasts, he made hypocrisy compatible with it. His desire for the title of king is, like Cæsar's, a striking instance of human weakness. On the whole, Cromwell's is a name which Englishmen generally mention with respect.†

* Mrs. Hutchinson justly remarks (p. 310), that "fortune itself seemed to prepare his way in sundry occasions." Hobbes says, "I cannot believe he then (in 1648) thought to be king, but only, by well serving the strongest party (which was always his main polity), to proceed as far as that and fortune would carry him."

† That Cromwell had some great and even good qualities, few probably will deny. He was a skilful general and an able statesman; attached in his friendships, and, beyond most men, affectionate to his family. But, when our author comes to speak of his religion with a forbearance almost bordering on respect, and, in direct terms, to extol his humanity, by telling us that "he delighted not in blood," we cannot help recurring to scenes in his life, from which no other inference can be drawn than that he possessed not a particle either of humanity or religion. We quote the following remarks on these points, on account of their perfect justness, as we conceive, and that the reader may be the better able to appreciate the true character of this certainly very extraordinary man:

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMMONWEALTH RESTORED.

1658—1660.

The Protector's Funeral.—State of Parties.—Dissolution of Parliament.—The Rump Recalled.—Royalist Insurrection.—Despotism of the Officers.—Proceedings of General Monk.—Restoration of the King.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the protector, his council met; and it was resolved to proclaim his son Richard, whom he was said (though the story is very doubtful) to have nominated as his successor. Rich-

"Viewing the matter more closely in reference to Cromwell, it is difficult to believe that a truly pious man could have committed the cruelties of which he was guilty. On all occasions, indeed, he set very little value on human life. His massacres in Ireland have left an indelible stain upon his reputation; but the slaughter which he committed in cold blood on his unfortunate prisoners did not display his indifference for the souls and bodies of human beings more decidedly than his practice of sending thousands to the colonies as slaves. No concern for their spiritual interests seems ever to have touched his feelings. It was his rule to take all towns by storm, rather than lose time by a tedious siege; regardless alike of the bloodshed which necessarily followed such a determination, and of the fate of those immortal beings who were thereby sent into eternity. As a mere soldier, his plan was perhaps the better one: and the success which attended his arms may be adduced to prove that his judgment was as sound as his nerves were strong. But our credulity is insulted when we are required to believe that a commander, who lavished the lives of men, in cases where a capitulation might have saved them, was, in his usual habits of thought, influenced by a pious regard to the everlasting welfare of his fellow-creatures. Our indignation, too, is inflamed when we read the insincere despatches of Cromwell after his most sanguinary exploits. At Bristol, for example, where he had prevailed upon Fairfax to assault the fortifications, he writes to the parliament that 'faith and prayer had obtained the city for them.' The battle of Dunbar, in like manner, he assured his masters, was won by the 'power of believing, which is the gift of God.'"—Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii., 229, Harpers' Family Library.—*Am. Ed.*

ard was proclaimed in the usual manner; not a murmur was heard; and addresses poured in from the army and navy, the churches, the cities, and the boroughs The royalists and the republicans, who had hoped to see the whole frame of government fall to pieces when the vigorous mind of Oliver Cromwell was gone, looked on in amazement.

Richard Cromwell was a man of the most amiable, generous temper, but utterly deficient in the energy requisite for the situation in which he was placed. He had never been a soldier, and he made no pretensions to the character of a saint. He had spent his early days in the Temple; and, when he married, retired to the house of his father-in-law, and led the life of a country gentleman. His father, when protector, made him one of the lords of trade, afterward Chancellor of Oxford, and finally a member of his house of peers.

The funeral of the late protector was celebrated in a style of expensive magnificence such as England had never witnessed before. The model adopted was that of the funeral of Philip II. of Spain. Somerset House was hung with black; the effigy of the protector, clad in royal robes, with the sceptre in one hand and the globe in the other, was placed on a bed of state; a crown lay on a cushion behind the head, and the only light in the apartment proceeded from waxen tapers. After two months, on the 1st of November, the effigy was removed to the great hall, where it appeared in an erect posture, with the crown on its head, and the sceptre and ball in its hands. Hundreds of tapers were so arranged beneath the roof that their light resembled the rays of the sun. At length, on the 23d, the effigy was conveyed in state to the magnificent tomb in the abbey, in which the real body had been long since deposited.

Though the officers had acquiesced in the succession of Richard, they soon gave him reason to feel that they were disposed to limit his power; they renewed their meetings, and, in a body of more than

two hundred, they presented a petition, demanding that no officer should be deprived but by sentence of a court-martial; and that the chief command and also the disposal of commissions should be given to some one of whose devotion to the cause there could be no doubt. Richard so far assented as to appoint Fleetwood lieutenant-general on the 14th of October; but it would, he said, be contrary to the Petition and Advice for him to surrender the chief command and the power of granting commissions. With this they appeared to be satisfied, though they still continued their meetings.

The only security against the officers, and the only means of obtaining money to pay the soldiers, being a parliament, writs for one were issued on the 30th of November; but, as the plan of giving additional members to the counties had not proved favourable to the court, the old mode was resorted to in England, while the new form was retained in Scotland and Ireland, where the influence of the government was paramount. Most of the small boroughs, therefore, returned the court candidates; and when the parliament met, on the 27th of January, 1659, the state of parties proved to be as follows. The Protectorists, or adherents of the Petition and Advice, composed one half of the house; the Republicans, headed by Vane, Ludlow, Lambert, Bradshaw, and Scot, amounted to about fifty, among whom was Lord Fairfax, a secret royalist; and the Moderates or Neuters constituted the remainder. These latter were chiefly Presbyterians: but among them were several cavaliers, or sons of cavaliers, who had their instructions from Hyde to embarrass the government, and foment dissensions between it and the Republicans. Mr. Challoner Chute was chosen speaker.

The question of the recognition of the protector caused a long and stormy debate, and it was not carried without great difficulty. That relating to the Other House was still more violently disputed; but the commons at length consented to transact business with them during the present parliament, with sundry

limitations of their authority. Thus far the royalists had supported the courtiers; they now began to act on the other part of their instructions. Complaints were made of various tyrannical acts, such as selling men for slaves in the West Indies, extortions and embezzlement of the revenue, etc.; and Secretary Thurloe and Boteler, one of the major-generals, were menaced with impeachments.

These proceedings gave alarm to the officers, who feared there would soon be a power superior to their own. They were divided into two parties: those who adhered to the interests of Richard, and met at Whitehall, such as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and others; and those who met at Wallingford House, the residence of Fleetwood, such as Desborough, Sydenham, Berry, and Haynes, whose object was to make Richard merely a civil magistrate, and to keep the army in their own power. But a third party now appeared at St. James's, composed of Ashfield, Lilburne, Mason, and men of strong republican principles. The Republicans in the house, finding their weakness, soon entered into close relations with the Wallingford House party, and united also with the party at St. James's. A general council was formed; and a "Humble Representation and Petition," complaining of the neglect of the good old cause and its supporters, etc., was drawn up and presented to the protector, and by him to the commons, who took, however, no notice of it. They then, with the protector's consent, called a general council of officers to make propositions to the parliament respecting the army. It was decided by this council that the command of the army should be committed to some one in whom they could all confide; and that every officer should be required to declare his approbation of the death of Charles I. and the subsequent acts of the army. The commons took alarm, and, on the 18th of April, voted that the officers should no more meet in general council; and, on the 21st, they farther declared that the command of the army was only to be exercised by the protector. The officers then ordered a rendezvous of the

army the next day at St. James's, while the protector directed a counter one at Whitehall. But the troops all mustered at the former place; and at noon Desborough came from them to the protector, to tell him that, if he would dissolve the parliament, the officers would take care of him; but, if not, they would then do it without him. After consulting with his friends, among whom Whitelock alone opposed the dissolution, he consented; and the parliament was dissolved.

The officers, having thus put an end to the parliament, were now somewhat uncertain how to act. They wished, above all things, to retain their power, for which purpose they were not unwilling to continue Richard in his office; and, at the same time, they felt the necessity of having money. Their first thought was to raise it, as Cromwell had done, by the power of the sword: but this being considered too hazardous, they listened to the proposals of their Republican allies, and agreed to reinstate the Rump parliament. They proposed a settlement on Richard, and the retention of the other house under the name of a senate: but matters not brooking delay, these points were reserved; and a Declaration in the name of Fleetwood and the general council of the army was issued on the 6th of May, inviting the members of the Long Parliament, who had continued sitting till April 20th, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust. The next day forty-two members met in the Painted Chamber; and, headed by Lenthall, passed into their house through lines of officers: Sir George Booth, Prynne, Annesley, and others of the excluded members also attempted to enter, but the doors were closed against them.

A committee of safety (all its members but Vane and Scot being military men) was appointed on the 9th; and, a few days after (on the 13th), a council of state, consisting of thirty-one civilians and officers, was chosen. Addresses poured in, as usual; and on the 31st the house voted "a free commonwealth, without a single person, kingship, or a house of peers."

All this, however, was far from being agreeable to the Wallingford House party: those of them who were members of the council rarely attended; and, when they did, they behaved with great insolence; they hesitated to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth in opposition to Charles Stuart or a single person;" and on the 15th they communicated to the parliament "the things which they had on their minds" when they restored it, drawn out in the form of fifteen demands, bearing the modest title of "The humble Petition and Address of the Officers." In this they required a bill of indemnity for all who had acted under the late authority; that Fleetwood should be commander-in-chief; that the protector's debts should be paid, and an income of £10,000 a year should be settled on him, and £8000 a year on his mother, "her highness-dowager;" that the government should consist of a representation of the people, and a select senate, etc. The parliament replied that they would take these things into consideration, and give all possible satisfaction. The act of indemnity was passed, but in an unsatisfactory form; the debts of Richard, amounting to £29,000, were transferred to the public account; a sum of £2000 was given him for present purposes, and the £10,000 a year was voted. He was, at the same time, required to leave Whitehall, it being suspected that the officers kept him there for purposes of their own. It was also feared that his brother Henry, who was a man of more spirit, would offer resistance in Ireland, where he was lord-deputy: but he yielded obedience to the mandate of the parliament.

The great object of the parliament was, as Ludlow expresses it, to provide "that, for the future, no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition." For this purpose two bills were passed: the one nominating a committee of seven persons to recommend officers to the house, the other making Fleetwood commander-in-chief, but only for the present session, or till they should take farther order therein, and directing that the officers approved of by

the parliament should receive their commissions, not from him, but from the speaker. These restrictions were opposed by Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, as being needless, and only tending to disgust the army: but the fervent zeal of Haselrig, Sidney, and Neville would hearken to no suggestions of prudence. Notice having been given to the officers that it was expected they would take new commissions from the speaker, a council was held at Desborough's house, at which Ludlow and Haselrig, who now had regiments, attended. They were very bold; and Desborough even said that he thought the commission he held as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. But the next morning (June the 8th) Colonel Hacker and his officers, at the persuasion of Haselrig, came and took their commissions from the speaker; and, the ice being thus broken, others followed. Fleetwood received his on the day following, and Lambert soon after.

It was also voted at this time (the 6th), "that this parliament shall not continue longer than May 7th, 1660."

While the republican oligarchs were thus employed, the royalists were by no means idle. Negotiations had been carried on with the leading Presbyterians, and they were now all pledged to the royal cause. Richard Cromwell had been offered a title and £20,000 a year; his brother was likewise solicited; and it is said that, at one time, he meditated declaring for the king. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk were also applied to. A general rising, to take place on the 1st of August, was agreed on; and the king and his brothers were at the same time to pass over with the troops which they had assembled. But Willis still kept up his correspondence with Thurloe, and the parliament was thus put in possession of their secrets. His treachery, however, was discovered, through Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who forwarded to the court at Bruges some of Willis's communications in his own handwriting. The latter, when the government had been put on its guard by him, represented to

the Knot that the project was now hopeless; and persuaded them to write circulars on the 29th of July, forbidding the rising. Accordingly, there was no movement made except in Cheshire, where Sir George Booth called on the people, without naming the king, to rise and demand a free parliament. He took possession of Chester, where he was joined by the Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Sir Thomas Middleton, and other royalists. But their spirits were damped when they learned that their friends remained wholly inactive, and that Lambert was advancing against them with four regiments of horse and three of foot. They moved to Nantwich, intending to dispute the passage of the Weever: but Lambert easily forced it on the 16th of August, and their men broke and fled at his approach. Colonel Morgan and about thirty others were killed, and three hundred were made prisoners. The Earl of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant; and Booth, as he was on his way to London, dressed like a woman, was discovered at Newport-Pagnel, in Bucks.

Lambert hastened up to London, leaving his army to follow by slow marches. A sum of £1000 which was voted him, he distributed among his officers; and shortly after, on the 14th of September, they sent up from Derby a petition (secretly transmitted to them from Wallingford House), requiring that there should be no limitation of time in Fleetwood's commission; that Lambert should be made major-general; that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by sentence of a court-martial, etc. This petition having been shown to Hasclrig by Fleetwood on the 22d, he hastened to the house; and, having caused the doors to be locked, moved that Lambert and two other officers should be taken into custody. But, on Fleetwood's asserting that Lambert knew nothing of it, they contented themselves with simply passing a vote expressing their disapprobation of the petition; and it was also resolved, "that to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable, and dangerous." Several meetings were now held at Walling-

ford House, and another petition was drawn up, and presented by Desborough and other officers on the 5th of October. This was, in substance, the same as the former: but it demanded farther, that those who should groundlessly inform the house against their servants should be brought to justice. This was aimed at Haselrig and his friends. The house, in the usual manner, returned them thanks for their good intentions: but soon after, on the 11th, a vote was passed, making it treason to raise money without consent of parliament. The next day Lambert, Desborough, and seven other colonels were deprived of their commissions for having sent a copy of the petition to Colonel Okey; and, by another vote, Fleetwood's office was taken away, and he and six others were nominated to form a board for the direction of the forces.

Haselrig, having thus thrown down the gauntlet, prepared for defence. He reckoned on the armies of Scotland and Ireland, and on the regiments of Hacker, Morley, and Okey; some others about London had also assured him of their fidelity, and the parliament had a guard of chosen horse, under Major Evelyn. Orders were given for these troops to move to Westminster; and, early in the morning of the 13th, the regiments of Morley and Moss, with some troops of horse, occupied the palace-yard and the avenues of the house. Lambert, on the other hand, drew together his men, and posted them in King-street and about the abbey. The two parties were thus brought face to face, but the men were by no means inclined to fight against their brothers in arms, and their officers did not urge them. When the speaker came up in his coach, Lambert sneeringly ordered one of his officers to conduct the "lord-general" to Whitehall: but he was suffered to return to his own house. The council of state then met; and, after a good deal of altercation, it was agreed that the parliament should not sit, and that the council of officers should keep the public peace, and cause a form of government to be drawn up, which should be laid before a new par-

liament speedily to be summoned. Fleetwood was declared commander-in-chief, with full powers, Lambert major-general, and a committee of safety was appointed.

To ascertain the feelings of the armies in Ireland and Scotland, Colonel Barrow was sent to the former country, and Colonel Cobbet to the latter. Barrow found both officers and men wavering and divided; and Cobbet was imprisoned by Monk, who declared for the parliament.

The conduct of Monk, who now becomes the principal object of attention, is ambiguous beyond example. He had early served under Goring in the Netherlands; he was in the royal army in Ireland, and was made a prisoner at Nantwich; he remained in the Tower till the end of the war, when he obtained a command in Ireland; he attached himself strongly to Cromwell, by whom the government of Scotland was confided to him; and he likewise continued his attachment to Cromwell's family, and wrote to Richard a most judicious letter, pointing out the best modes of securing his power. Monk was no speculative republican, and no fanatic in religion, though much influenced by his wife, who was a Presbyterian. He was a man of phlegmatic temper and of impenetrable secrecy. The royalists always had hopes of him; and it is not improbable, that, seeing the power of Cromwell's house gone, his secret plan now was, if it could be done with safety, to assist in restoring the king.

The first care of Monk was to secure the castles of Edinburgh and Leith, and to occupy Berwick. When this was known in London, it was resolved that Lambert should march against him; and on the 3d of November he set out for the north, having previously exacted a promise from Fleetwood that he would come to no agreement with either the king or Haselrig without his approbation.

Monk, in the mean time, went on remodelling his army: those of his officers who were of the Wallingford House party having resigned their commissions, he supplied their places with such as he could depend

upon; and he also displaced many who had been appointed by the parliament. As his treasury and magazines were well supplied, and he knew that his opponents wanted money, he sought to procrastinate. He accordingly sent deputies to London; and, on their return, pretending that the agreement which they had concluded was somewhat obscure, he opened a negotiation with Lambert, who was then at Newcastle, in order to have it explained. Meanwhile he proceeded with reforming his army, dismissing even the privates of whom he had any doubts, and supplying their places with Scots. He held a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick; and, having commended the peace of the country to them during his absence, and on the 6th of December obtained a grant of money, he fixed his headquarters at Coldstream, where he still continued to amuse Lambert with negotiations.

In the mean time the cause of the army was losing ground both in city and country. The apprentices in London had frequent scuffles with the soldiers; an attempt was made to seize the Tower; Admiral Lawson declared for the parliament, and brought his fleet up to Gravesend; Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, admitted Haselrig and Morley into the town, while the troops sent against them went over to them; and the Isle of Wight declared also for the parliament. At length the soldiers themselves abandoned their officers; and, putting themselves under the command of Okey and Alured, they assembled on the 24th in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, and, declaring for the parliament, marched by Lenthall's house in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their general. On the 26th, the speaker and those members who were in town walked to the house, the soldiers shouting and cheering them as they passed. Haselrig returned in triumph, and the Rump was once more revived.

Fleetwood had on his knees surrendered his commission to the speaker; Lambert, Desborough, and others made their submissions in the humblest manner, but they were all confined to their houses at a distance from London. The army was remodelled:

not less than fifteen hundred officers being discharged. The Rump now proceeded to punish such members as had been of the late committee of safety: Vane was expelled, and ordered to retire to his house at Raby; Salloway was sent to the Tower; and Whitelock had to resign the great seal, and narrowly escaped being committed also. Charges of treason were made against Ludlow and others. A new council of state was appointed; and an oath, renouncing kingship and the Stuarts in the strongest terms, was imposed on all members of the parliament. In the mean time, Lord Fairfax and Monk had arranged that on the same day, January 1, 1660, the latter should cross the Tweed, and the former seize on the city of York. This engagement was punctually executed; and the royalists in York opened the gates and admitted Fairfax. Though the weather was severe, Monk continued to advance; Lambert's troops having obeyed the orders sent to them to disperse, no opposition was encountered; and, after staying five days at York to consult with Fairfax, Monk resumed his march for the capital on the 16th, an invitation for him to do so having now arrived. It was Fairfax's advice that he should remain in the north, and there proclaim the king: but he said it would be dangerous in the present temper of his officers; and, in fact, he caned one of them at York for charging him with this design. At Nottingham, on the 21st, they were near signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart." At Leicester, on the 23d, Monk was obliged to sign an answer to a petition from his native county, Devon, giving it as his opinion that monarchy could not be restored, and that it would be dangerous to recall the excluded members, and advising submission to the present parliament. At this town he was joined by Scot and Robinson, two of the members sent, ostensibly to do him honour, but in reality to discover his intentions. He treated them with great respect, and always referred to them the bearers of the numerous addresses that were presented to him for the res-

toration of the excluded members and a free parliament.

The troops which Monk had brought with him did not exceed five thousand men, and those in and about London alone were more numerous: he therefore wrote from St. Alban's on the 28th, requiring that, to prevent quarrels or seduction, five regiments should be removed. On the 2d of February an order was issued to that effect; but the men refused to obey, and the royalists of the city tried to gain them over: they remained, however, faithful to the parliament; and, on being promised their arrears, marched out quietly the next morning. Monk led in his troops the following day, and took up his quarters at Whitehall.

On the 6th Monk received the thanks of the house. In his reply he noticed the numerous addresses for a free and full parliament which he had received, expressed his dislike of oaths and engagements, and his hopes that neither cavaliers nor fanatics would be intrusted with civil or military power. By some his speech was thought too dictatorial. "The servant," said Scot, "has already learned to give directions to his masters." Monk also excited suspicion by demurring to the oath abjuring the Stuarts being taken by members of the council of state. Seven of the other members, he observed, had not yet taken it, and he should like to know their reasons; experience had shown that such oaths were of little force; he had proved his devotion to the parliament, and would do so again.

The tide of loyalty still continued to swell in the city. The excluded members held frequent meetings there, and some even of the king's judges who were in parliament entered into communications with them. The last elections had given a common council zealous for a full and free parliament; and they set the present one at naught, refused to pay the taxes imposed by it, and received and answered addresses from the counties. To check these proceedings, it was resolved by the council of state that eleven of the common council should be arrested, the posts and chains

which had been fixed in the streets taken away, and the city gates destroyed. In the dead of the night of the 9th, Monk received orders to carry this resolution into effect. He obeyed, though his officers and soldiers murmured; the citizens greeting him with groans and hisses, but making no opposition. After the posts and chains were removed, Monk sent to say that he thought enough had been done; but he was directed to complete the demolition, and he therefore destroyed the gates and portcullisses. He then led his men back to Whitehall; and, having there coolly considered the whole matter, he thought he saw a design to embroil him with the citizens, and finally to lay him aside. In concert with his officers, he wrote next morning to the speaker, requiring that, by the following Friday, every vacancy in the house should be filled up, preparatory to a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched his troops into Finsbury Fields, caused a common council to be summoned, and told them that he had come to unite with them in obtaining a full and free parliament. His speech was received with acclamations; he was entertained at the Guildhall; his soldiers were feasted; the bells were tolled; bonfires were lighted; and the populace amused themselves with roasting rumps at them, in ridicule of the parliament.

Monk remained in the city till the 21st. He had daily conferences with all parties, but none could penetrate the veil of secrecy in which he enveloped himself: his words were all for a commonwealth, while many of his actions spoke a different language. It was now arranged that the excluded members should be allowed to take their seats on certain conditions: one of which was, that writs should be issued for a new parliament, to meet on the 20th of April. Thus, after an absence of more than eleven years, Hollis, Pierrepoint, and the other Presbyterians resumed their seats; while Haselrig, whose eyes, up to this moment, had been closed to the duplicity of Monk, retired in despair with his adherents.

All the proceedings against the king and themselves

were now annulled; Sir George Booth and his friends, the Scottish lords, and several royalists, were released from prison; Lambert was sent to the Tower; the government of Hull was taken from Overton and committed to Lord Fairfax; Lawson was appointed to be vice-admiral, and Monk and Montague to be generals at sea. Monk was also made commander of all the land-forces in the three kingdoms; the city chose him major-general of their militia; he was appointed steward and keeper of Hampton Court, and a sum of £20,000 was voted him. The engagement was now repealed, but the Assembly's confession of faith was approved of; the league and covenant was ordered to be printed and hung up in the churches; and the execution of the laws against Catholic priests and recusants was enjoined. The newly-appointed council of state had been composed of Presbyterians, and they also held most of the civil and military offices. In this state of things, having issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 25th of April, the ever-memorable Long Parliament put an end to its own existence on the 16th of March.

Monk still dissembled: but, seeing how the elections were going, he at length ventured to open his mind to a royalist agent. Mr. Morrice, his relative and a confidential friend, having informed him of the state of feeling in the West, he consented to have a private interview with Sir John Greenville, who was also his relation, but, at the same time, high in the confidence of the king. Greenville delivered him a letter from Charles, which Monk received with great respect. He mentioned the difficulties of his situation, and therefore desired him to confer in private with Morrice. An answer to the royal letter was drawn up, in which Monk advised that the king should send him a communication to lay before the parliament: he recommended also an amnesty, general or nearly so, liberty of conscience, confirmation of the national sales, and payment of the arrears of the army. When it had been read he threw it into the fire, bidding Greenville to remember the contents.

It was likewise recommended by Monk that the king should quit the Spanish dominions.* Charles accordingly removed from Brussels to Breda, whence he forwarded by Greenville a declaration, with letters addressed to the house of lords, the house of commons, the lord-mayor and city, Monk and the army, and Montague and the navy. Copies of them all were sent to Monk, who was to do as he pleased with the originals. The declaration was very different from what had been proposed by himself, but he made no objection.

If ever there was a parliament freely chosen, it was the one then sitting: there was no court nor army to control the elections; the territorial aristocracy was enfeebled, and could use only its legitimate influence; the royalists (the Catholics excepted) were no longer deprived of the right of voting; all parties, therefore, put forth their strength, and the royalists (the moderate Presbyterians included) had a most decided majority. The republicans obtained but few seats, and their only hopes now lay in the army. By representing to the officers that they would be obliged to resign their purchases, and to the privates that they would lose their arrears, they succeeded in exciting a mutinous spirit. Lambert, having escaped from the Tower, hastened down to Warwickshire, to put himself at their head. He had collected a few troops of horse and some foot, when Ingoldsby, now a royalist, met him near Daventry on the 21st of April. Captain Haselrig (son to Sir Arthur) passed over with his troop to Ingoldsby; others followed their example, and Lambert, left alone, having vainly tried to induce his former fellow-soldiers to let him escape, surrendered. Colonels Cobbet, Creed, and some others were also taken. At the very moment (on the 24th) when Monk was reviewing the militia of the city in Hyde Park, Lambert and his friends were driven past

* It is said to have been the intention of the Spaniards to detain Charles till Jamaica and Dunkirk should be restored. According to Clarendon (vii., 452), he narrowly escaped detention.

Tyburn on their way to the Tower, amid the hootings of the populace.

The next day the house of commons met, and the Presbyterians succeeded in having Sir Harbottle Grimstone, one of their party, chosen speaker. Monk sat as one of the members for Devon. At the same time, the peers who had sat in 1648 assembled in their house without opposition: but it was plain that they had no exclusive right, and some of those who had been shut out applied to Monk. On his replying that he had no authority to determine any claims, a few of them ventured to take their seats: no one opposing, others followed, and in a few days the Presbyterians formed no more than a fifth of the house.

On the 1st of May Greenville came to the door of the council-chamber, by Monk's secret direction, and requested a member to tell the lord-general that one wished to speak with him. Monk came to the door, when Greenville put a letter into his hand; and Monk, perceiving that it was sealed with the royal arms, directed the guards not to let the bearer depart. Greenville was soon called in and interrogated by the president: he was then ordered into custody, but Monk observed that he had discovered him to be his near relation, and would be his security. The drama had now reached its conclusion: Greenville delivered all his letters, and received the thanks of the house and £500. The letters to the army, navy, and city were read to them by Monk, Montague, and the lord-mayor, and addresses to his majesty were unanimously voted.*

The declaration from Breda contained a promise of pardon to all except such as should be thereafter excepted by parliament; a promise to assent to any act

* "The period of our prosperity," says Mrs. Hutchinson (p. 369), "was come, hastened on partly by the mad, rash violence of some that, without strength, opposed the tide of the discontented, tumultuous people, partly by the detestable treachery of those who had sold themselves to do mischief, but chiefly by the general stream of the people, who were as eager for their own destruction as the Israelites of old for their quails."

of parliament that might be passed for the indulgence of tender consciences; a promise to allow the parliament to regulate all differences respecting the rights and titles to lands, and a similar promise respecting the military arrears.

How illusory all this was is plain to be seen: the king, in effect, was bound to nothing, and what the complexion of the next parliament was likely to be, no one could have a doubt. The upright Sir Matthew Hale, therefore, with Prynne and others, called on the house to pause, and now, while they had the power, make a final settlement of the claims which had hitherto occasioned so much collision between the crown and parliament. But Monk opposed the revival of these disputed questions at a time, he said, when every moment was precious. Let the king but come, he added, and it would be always in their power to impose limitations. The house hereupon rang with acclamations, and the king was restored without the smallest restriction.*

A sum of £50,000 was voted to the king, £10,000 to the Duke of York, and £5000 to the Duke of Gloucester. The arms of the commonwealth were everywhere taken down, and the royal arms put in their place. Charles was proclaimed with great solemnity on the 8th; and the ministers were ordered to pray for him and the Duke of York. Commissioners also were sent to invite his majesty to come and receive his crown.

Charles lost no time in proceeding from Breda to the Hague. The States, who had hitherto neglected him, now treated him with the utmost respect. Montague having arrived with the English fleet in the Bay of Schevelin, on the 23d he went on board. At Dover, on the 25th, Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry of Kent, received him as he landed. He kissed and embraced the general, and made him walk by his side, and ride in the coach with himself and his

* Hallam, however (ii., 397), shows that limitations would have been perfectly useless.

brothers. As he proceeded, the people crowded from all parts to see and welcome him. On the 29th, his birthday, he approached the capital. The army, which was drawn out on Blackheath to receive him, greeted him with joyful acclamations as he passed. In St. George's Fields, the lord-mayor and aldermen invited him to partake of a cold collation in a tent fitted up for the purpose. The houses from London Bridge to Whitehall were covered with tapestry; the streets were lined to Temple-bar by the militia on one side, the city companies in their liveries on the other, and thence to Whitehall by militia and regiments of the army. Troops of gentlemen richly clad, with their footmen and trumpeters, the city companies, the sheriffs, and mayor and aldermen, passed along; the lord-general and the Duke of Buckingham followed; the king, riding between his two brothers, came next; the cavalcade was closed by the general's guards, five regiments of horse, and two troops of noblemen and gentlemen. Such was the general joy displayed, that the king jokingly observed, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before, for I have met with no one to-day who did not protest that he always wished for my restoration."

Thus at length terminated the experiment of a commonwealth in England. It had never been popular, for it was in opposition to the habits, feelings, and prejudices of the people, and was associated with ideas of military rule and excessive taxation. Nor had it given any taste of real liberty, having been from the commencement the despotism either of an oligarchy or of an individual. Yet it was not wholly barren of benefit to the nation, for it swept away much of the rubbish of the feudal times, which had only served to encumber and defile the social edifice; and we shall find the rights and liberties of the nation much less trampled on under the restored monarchy, than they had been in the times antecedent to the common-

wealth, partly as the result of positive law, but still more in consequence of the free spirit which had been infused into the nation by the long conflict between the crown and parliament. The calm and philosophic student of history, therefore, will feel disposed to regard the civil war and commonwealth as among the necessary means for securing the final establishment of rational and bounded liberty in England.*

Numerous religious sects sprang up during this period of commotion. Of these, the only one that took permanent root is that of the Friends or Quakers, founded by George Fox, the son of a weaver, and originally a shepherd-boy. It rested on a literal interpretation of some parts of Scripture, and a rejection of all ordinances in religion: hence it drew on itself a cruel persecution, both from the commonwealth and from the restored monarchy. The jails in those days of intolerance were filled with Quakers, who endured, with all the heroism of martyrs, rather than conform to the language, habit, manners, and religious observances of the rest of the nation.

In politics, this sect has at all times been decidedly republican: but it has generally abstained from political agitation.

* The failure of the English nation in this attempt to establish a republican form of government, inculcates a lesson which has been abundantly confirmed by subsequent experience, that such a government is compatible only with general intelligence and virtue among the people. It is a lesson, too, full of grave and serious instruction to ourselves; inasmuch as intelligence and virtue are no less essential to the preservation than to the first successful establishment of popular government.—*Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES II.*

1660–1667.

First Measures of the Crown.—Trials and Executions of the Regicides.—Crown and Church Lands.—Duke of York's Marriage.—Savoy Conference.—Trial and Execution of Sir Henry Vane.—Affairs of Scotland; of Ireland.—King's Marriage.—Sale of Dunkirk.—Act of Uniformity.—Dutch War.—Great Plague.—Five-mile Act.—Fire of London.—End of the Dutch War.—Fall of Clarendon.

England, after nearly twenty years of anarchy and confusion, now resumed her original form. The clouds seemed to be dissipated, and a bright sun about to shed peace and happiness over the land. But this appearance was wholly fallacious: Charles, bland and courteous, easy and negligent as he was, had adopted principles and formed habits which soon dispelled the flattering hopes which the nation at this time so fondly indulged.

Historians have remarked, with a kind of astonishment, the sudden change which took place in the conduct of the people: casting off, as it would seem, at once, the rigour of religion, and rushing madly into excess and licentiousness. It is, however, an error to suppose that the people were changed: the only change was in the ruling power. Those who had been really religious remained so still: but such has rarely, if ever, been the character of the great body of a people. During the whole time of the suspension of royalty, the power had been in the hands of men who, though fanatical, were religious; and the same was the character of the army.† All outward

* Authorities: Clarendon, Burnet, Pepys, Evelyn, Life of James II., Temple, &c.

† Whitelock and others will furnish proofs of this. Burnet,

expressions of vice and pleasure were therefore suppressed, and the nation wore an aspect of rigour and sanctity which did not really belong to it. The weight being now removed, it resumed its natural bent; and men ran wildly into excess, in proportion to the severity of the restraint under which they had been held.

The king's first care was to reward those who had been active in his restoration, and to form his council. Monk was created Duke of Albemarle, Montague Earl of Sandwich, and both received the garter. Annesley was made Earl of Anglesea; Denzil Hollis, Lord Hollis; and Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley. The Earl of Manchester was appointed lord-chamberlain, and Lord Say lord-privy-seal. Monk's friend Morrice was made one of the secretaries of state. Of the old royalists, Hyde was appointed chancellor, Southampton treasurer, Ormond steward of the household; Sir Edward Nicholas continued to be a secretary of state, and Lord Culpepper master of the rolls.

The present parliament, not having been summoned legally, was no more than a convention, and its acts, therefore, not binding. It however passed a bill declaring itself to be the parliament, and then proceeded to the consideration of the many weighty matters it had to determine.

The first was to provide a revenue for the crown. It appearing to them that a chief cause of the late unhappy troubles had been the inadequacy of the revenue to the exigences of the government, it was resolved to settle an income of £1,200,000 a year on the king. In return, they required the abolition of tenures in chivalry, with all their incidents, such as wardships, marriages, etc., together with purveyance and pre-emption: all of which had been, for centuries, fruitful sources of evil, and constant subjects of

speaking of some regiments that he saw at Aberdeen, says, "There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved."

complaint and remonstrance. This being consented to, the next question was, how the aforesaid revenue was to be raised. To lay a permanent tax on the lands thus relieved was the obvious and equitable course: but he knows little of parliaments who supposes that such a course would be adopted by the owners of lands sitting in them, so long as any mode could be devised of shifting the burden on others. Some one happening to mention the excise, the idea was at once assented to; and it was carried, by a majority of two, that a moiety of the excise on beer and other liquors should be settled on the crown; and thus this tax, originally so odious, was made permanent. By this act (12 Car. II., ch. 24), a most important change was wrought in the constitution, the prerogative losing thereby its most influential branch. We should also notice, that, at the close of the session, the remaining moiety of the excise was likewise given to the crown.

An army of sixty thousand men, whose pay required an assessment of £70,000 a month, was alike dangerous to the crown, and burdensome to the nation. Symptoms of disaffection had, indeed, already appeared among the soldiers, and Monk declared that he could no longer answer for their obedience. It was therefore resolved to lose no time in disbanding them: money was procured to pay off their arrears, the regiments were reduced one after another, eulogies were lavished on the soldiers, and, without mutiny or murmur, they gradually merged into the mass of peaceful citizens; and thus disappeared that wonderful army, scarcely to be rivalled in the union of religion, discipline, and undaunted valour. The king was strongly urged by the Duke of York to retain this army or to raise another; and to this course he was himself inclined: but he knew that it would be useless to propose it to the parliament. Monk's regiment, however, called the Coldstream, was retained, with one or two others of horse; and another formed out of the troops at Dunkirk, was afterward added. The whole amounted to about five thousand men;

and, under the name of guards, they constituted the germe of the present large standing army.

The bill of indemnity also occupied the attention of parliament. They had been engaged on this even before the arrival of the king. Monk had recommended to him not to except more than four persons: but the commons, on the 16th of May, excepted seven by name; they afterward enumerated twenty persons, who, though not regicides, should, for their share in the transactions of the last twelve years, be affected with penalties short of death; and they finally excluded such of the king's judges as had not surrendered themselves on the late proclamation. When the bill came to the lords on the 11th of July, where the old royalists prevailed, it was decided to be far too lenient. They voted to except all the king's judges, and also Vane, Lambert, Haselrig, Hacker, and Axtel; they likewise struck out the clause respecting the twenty persons, and then sent the bill back to the commons. But here some feelings of honour and humanity were still to be found. By the proclamation above mentioned, the king's judges were required to surrender themselves, on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity either as to their lives or estates. The obvious construction of this was, that the lives of those who came in would be in no danger; and accordingly nineteen had surrendered themselves. It was contended that these should be set at liberty, and suffered to make their escape if they could. A compromise was at length effected. Most of the king's judges were excepted, as were also Hacker, Axtel, and Hugh Peters: but the nineteen were not to suffer death without an act of parliament for that purpose. Vane and Lambert were also excepted: but, by an address of both houses, the king was requested to spare their lives if they should be attainted. Haselrig, Lord Monson, and five others were to be deprived of liberty and property; and Lenthall, St. John, Hutchinson, and sixteen more, all members of the high courts of justice, were to be ineligible to

any office whatever.* In this form the bill of indemnity received the royal assent.

After sitting about three months the parliament adjourned, and during the recess the twenty-nine regicides who were in custody were brought to trial before a court of thirty-four commissioners. Of these, some were old royalists; others, such as Manchester, Say, Hollis, and Annesley, members of the Long Parliament; and with them sat Monk, Montague, and Cooper, the associates of Cromwell, whom a feeling of delicacy should perhaps have withheld from the tribunal.

Most of the prisoners expressed sorrow for their crime: others said that they had borne the king no malice, that they thought his death an act of national justice, and that they had acted under the supreme authority of the nation. They were all found guilty: but those who had surrendered were, with one exception,† respited, and ten were executed. These latter were six of the king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Jones, Clements, and Scroop; Cook, one of the counsel on the trial; Axtel and Hacker, who had commanded the guards, and Hugh Peters. The place of execution was Charing Cross, where a gallows was erected for the purpose. General Harrison suffered first (on the 13th of October). Supported here, as on his trial, by that fervid spirit of enthusiasm, so perfectly free from all alloy of worldly motives, he gloried in the act for which he was brought to die, as per-

* "The worst and most odious of their proceedings," says Hallam, "quite unworthy of a Christian and civilized assembly, was to give the next relations of the four peers who had been executed under the commonwealth, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, and Derby, the privilege of naming each one person (among the regicides) to be executed. This was done in the last three instances; but Lord Denbigh, as Hamilton's kinsman, nominated one who was dead; and, on this being pointed out to him, refused to fix on another."—Hallam's Constitutional History of England, ii., 415.—*Am. Ed.*

† Namely, Scroop. His having, after his surrender, expressed his real sentiments on the execution of Charles I. in reply to an insidious question, was the pretext for this breach of faith.

formed in the cause of God and his country, and expressed his confidence in the revival of the good cause in happier times. Carew was the next who suffered (on the 15th); and his conduct was no less firm. Cook and Peters were both executed on the same day (the 16th); and the latter alone, it has been said,* showed want of courage, and was obliged to have recourse to cordials. Scot, Clement, Scroop, and Jones, all suffered on the same day (the 17th). Hacker and Axtel closed the scene at Tyburn (on the 19th). They all died with the constancy of martyrs; and it is very remarkable, that not a single man of those who had a share in the death of the late king seems to have voluntarily repented of the deed.†

Although one cannot but admire the constancy and magnanimity of the sufferers, most of whom were gentlemen by birth and education, the justice of their sentence is not to be denied, even on their own principles; and it was impossible for Charles to suffer such a heinous deed as the solemn execution of his father to go unpunished. But there was another part of the royal vengeance which can be regarded with no other feelings than those of abhorrence and disgust. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were taken from their tombs in the Abbey, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, on the anniversary of the death of Charles I., hung on the gallows till evening, then taken down, the heads cut off and fixed on Westminster Hall, and the trunks thrown into a pit. The bodies also of about twenty other persons (those of Blake and Cromwell's respectable mother included) were afterward taken out of the Abbey and buried in the adjoining churchyard.

The lives of the remaining regicides were spared,

* Burnet, Own Times, i., 291.

† The narratives in the State Trials were drawn up by the friends of the sufferers, and are evidently partial. Who can believe that, "after Harrison's body was opened, he mounted himself and gave the executioner a box in the ear?" At the same time, it is evident that they were treated with a degree of cruelty and barbarity, for which the conduct of their party when in power offered no precedent.

and they spent the rest of their days in different prisons. The witty and licentious Harry Marten died at the age of seventy-eight, in Chepstow Castle. They surely had no just reason to complain of their fate, when they recollected how many of the other party they had, as far as in them lay, subjected to a similar destiny.

Another important point for the parliament to decide on was the case of those who had purchased the crown and church lands, and the estates of royalists, which had been sold by public authority in the late times. A bill was introduced for an equitable adjustment, but it met with much opposition; and nothing having been done when the parliament was dissolved, the crown, the church, and the other proprietors entered on the lands in question, and the occupiers, having no legal titles to produce, were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of their purchase-money. But it was only the leading royalists that gained in this way: thousands of gentlemen who had sold their lands to support the royal cause, or to pay the sequestrations imposed on them for their loyalty, and had been thus reduced to poverty, remained without remedy. The sales having been legal, the present possessors were secured by the bill of indemnity, against which the disappointed cavaliers now exclaimed, saying it was indeed an act of oblivion and indemnity, but of indemnity only for the king's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends. They taxed the king with ingratitude, and conceived, on account of it, mortal hatred to Hyde. Their case was doubtless a severe one, but there was really no preventing it except at the risk of a civil war. It was observed that the most clamorous were those who had suffered least, and the petty services for which many claimed large rewards furnished only matter for ridicule.

The church was another difficult matter to arrange. Most of the livings were in the hands of the Presbyterians; and they had so mainly contributed to the Restoration, that it would have been both ungrateful and unsafe to attempt to disturb them. On the other

hand, both the king and the chancellor were resolved to re-establish Episcopacy. There was also a difficulty about the livings: for such of the clergy as had been ejected for their loyalty seemed now to have a just claim to recover what they had lost. This, however, was accommodated to a certain extent: but the vision of the jurisdiction of bishops, and the dreaded surplice, ring, and cross, alarmed the Presbyterians. They proposed Bishop Usher's model of Episcopacy; and prayed that the habits and ceremonies might not be imposed, and that the liturgy might be revised. The king issued a declaration, apparently granting all that they required: but when an attempt was made to have this converted into a bill, it was frustrated by the efforts of the court-party in the commons. It was quite plain, from this, that the royal declaration was only meant to be illusory.

At length, on the 29th of December, the convention-parliament was dissolved, it being urged that it was necessary to have a true parliament, to give the force of law to what it should enact; and it was expected, also, that a new parliament would be more purely royalist.

In the September of this year the Duke of Gloucester died of the smallpox, much lamented by the king his brother. Their sister, the Princess of Orange, died of the same disorder in the winter. The king's other sister, the Princess Henrietta, was married about this time to the Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIV. Another marriage in the royal family was that of the Duke of York to Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, who had been maid of honour to the Princess of Orange.

The new year, 1661, opened with a wild outbreak of the fanatics named Fifth-monarchy men, under their leader Venner, the wine-cooper. One Sunday, the 6th of January, having heated their enthusiasm by a discourse on the speedy coming of Christ and the reign of the saints, he issued from his conventicle in Colman-street at the head of sixty well-armed followers. They proceeded to St. Paul's, proclaim-

ing the approaching reign of Christ on the earth. They drove off a party of the train-bands that had been sent against them, and in the evening they retired to Caen Wood, between Hampstead and Highgate. Here some of them were taken: but on Wednesday morning, the 9th, they returned to the city, shouting as before, and dispersed some of the troops and train-bands. At length, some of them being killed and Venner taken, they retired into a house at Cripplegate, which they defended, till a party, headed by one Lambert, a seaman, got in at the roof. Most of them were slain; and the remainder, with their leader, were hanged. The attempt was purely an isolated act: but advantage was taken of it to issue a proclamation for suppressing the meetings of the Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sects; and it was also the occasion for forming the regiments of guards already noticed.

The king's coronation having been celebrated with great splendour on the 23d of April,* the new parliament met on the 8th of May. As was to be expected, it was most decidedly royalist, the Presbyterians not having more than sixty seats. Its temper soon appeared, by resolves for obliging all the members to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and for having the solemn league and covenant burned by the common hangman. It was declared, also, that both the negative and the command of the army were rights inherent in the crown; and it was made treason to injure the king's person, or to distinguish between his person and his office. It required, too, all the efforts of the king and of Clarendon to have the bill of indemnity passed without still farther exceptions. An act, indeed, passed the commons for the immediate execution of the remaining regicides: but the lords, more humane or more honourable, rejected it, the king himself expressing

* Hyde was on this occasion created Earl of Clarendon, and Arthur Lord Capel (son of him who had been executed in 1649) Earl of Essex.

his aversion to it.* The act depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, which had been so violently extorted from the late king, was repealed, and the prelates were restored to their legislative functions. As a chief weapon in those times had been tumultuary bodies of petitioners, an act was passed that not more than ten persons should present any petition to the king or either house, and that it should be signed by not more than twenty, unless with the order of three justices, or the major part of a grand jury.

While the parliament was thus replacing the constitution on its ancient basis, a conference was going on at the Bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, between twelve prelates and nine assistants, and an equal number of Presbyterian divines. The ostensible object was a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. The bishops were determined to admit of none but very slight modifications, and to retain all the ceremonies. The Presbyterians, under the circumstances, required by far too much: yet surely the prelates might have conceded something to men at least as pious and as learned as themselves, and but for whom they would probably have been still without their sees. The one side objected vehemently to the cross, ring, and surplice; and the other insisted on them, as if they were of the very essence of religion.

The strength of the Presbyterian party lay in the corporations; and in these their strongholds, the church-party proceeded to attack them. By the Corporation-act now passed, it was enacted that any person holding office in a corporation might be removed, unless he would renounce the solemn league and covenant, and declare his belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, etc.; and that no future officer should be admitted unless he had previously taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Thus commenced that odi-

* "I am weary of hanging," said he to Clarendon, "except for new offences. Let the bill settle in the houses, that it may not come to me, for you know that I cannot pardon them."

ous profanation of the most solemn act of religion, so long a national disgrace.

The revision of the Common Prayer was finally committed to the convocation on the 20th of November. They made a number of alterations and additions, but none that were favourable to the Presbyterians.* The amended book was presented to the king and council, and by them recommended to the house of lords.

Vane and Lambert still lay in prison. As they had had no immediate hand in the death of the late king, the convention had addressed the king in their behalf; and he had assured them that, if attainted, they should not be executed. They were now brought to trial, at the suit of the commons. Lambert, who had never been an enthusiast, or even, perhaps, a republican, acted with great caution. He excused his opposing Booth and Monk by saying that he knew not that they were acting for the king, and he threw himself on the royal mercy. He was sentenced to die, but was only confined for life in the isle of Guernsey. He lived there for thirty years, forgotten by the world, occupying his time in the cultivation of flowers and in practising the art of painting. It is said that he became a Catholic.

Very different was the conduct of the upright, fervid enthusiast and republican Vane. Far from suing for mercy, he asserted that "the decision by the sword was given [against the late king] by that God who, being the judge of the whole earth, does right, and cannot do otherwise;" and that the parliament then became the government *de facto*, and, consequently, he was entitled to the benefit of statute 11 Henry VII., having acted in obedience to it. The spirit of the law, if not the letter, was certainly in his favour; and the judges could get over the difficulty only by the monstrous assertion that Charles had been king *de facto* from the death of his father, though "kept out of the

* Some of the state-prayers were introduced into the liturgy at this time, as was also the General Thanksgiving.

exercise of his royal authority by rebels and traitors." The prisoner's defence was most eloquent and able, but it had been determined not to let him escape.* Sentence of death was therefore passed on him, the judges refusing to sign a bill of exceptions which he presented. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 14th. His demeanour was such as was to have been expected from his known character. When he attempted to address the people in vindication of himself and the cause for which he suffered, his note-books were snatched from him, and the trumpeters were ordered to blow in his face. "It is a bad cause," said he, "which cannot bear the words of a dying man." One stroke terminated his mortal existence.

The character of Sir Henry Vane stands forth pre-eminent for purity among the republican chiefs. He was disinterested and incorrupt; willing to give to all others the liberty he claimed for himself; and the enemy of oppression in all its forms. It is difficult to regard his death as anything but a judicial murder: still there was in it something of retribution. Though taking no immediate share in the judicial proceedings against the late king, he had mainly contributed to his death by his conduct at the treaty of Newport, and his speech in the house on his return. By the dishonourable manner in which he furnished evidence against Strafford (whose sentence was little, if at all, less iniquitous than his own), he was a main cause of the civil war, and of all the bloodshed and misery

* The king wrote to Clarendon on the 7th as follows: "The relation that has been made to me of Sir H. Vane's carriage yesterday in the hall is the occasion of this letter, which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all; and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly he is too dangerous a man to let live if we can honestly put him out of the way. Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow; till when I have no more to say to you. C."—See Onslow's note on Burnet, i., 296. It has been observed that Clarendon, in his Life, is silent on the subject of Vane, which looks as if he did not quite approve of the transaction.

which thence ensued. On the same spot on which Strafford fell one-and-twenty years before, Vane now underwent a similar fate. As the series of blood began with the one, it ended with the other. As Charles I. forfeited his word and honour in the one case, so Charles II. forfeited his in the other.

Having brought the affairs of England to this point, it is now time that we should notice those of Scotland and Ireland.

As Scotland had not been mentioned in the declaration from Breda, the cavaliers of that country breathed nothing but blood and forfeitures. The spirit of it, however, certainly did apply to Scotland; and the Earl of Lauderdale, who was now high in the royal favour, by representing all that the Scots had done and suffered in the cause of the king, disposed him to clemency. The Marquis of Argyle, relying on an ambiguous answer of the king, through his son Lord Lorn, came secretly up to London: but he was immediately sent to the Tower.

The union which the commonwealth had laboured to effect was no longer thought of. The Earl of Middleton was appointed commissioner for holding the parliament, Glencairn chancellor, and Lauderdale secretary. The fortresses built by Cromwell were demolished, and the garrisons disbanded. As the king had been disgusted with Presbytery, the restoration of Episcopacy was resolved on. The utmost efforts having been made to pack a parliament, that assembly, when it met on the 1st of January, 1661, proved to be suited to all the purposes of the court. It was known by the name of "The Drunken Parliament," on account of the continued inebriety of Middleton and his associates. Its first proceeding was to restore the prerogative, in its fullest extent. In this there was little difficulty: but to change the church government was not so easy, as it had been confirmed by two parliaments held by the present king and his father. In one of Middleton's drunken freaks, it was resolved to adopt a measure which Primrose, the clerk-register, had proposed half in jest, which was, a

general act *recissory*, annulling, under various pretexts, all the parliaments held since the year 1633 This, though vigorously opposed by the old covenanters, was carried by a large majority, and the Presbyterian discipline was left at the mercy of the crown.

Those who hungered after the large possessions of Argyle now hastened to shed his blood. He was transferred to Scotland, to be tried on charges of oppression and treason. Every national act from the beginning of the wars was laid to his charge. His defence was able, and generally successful. As he pleaded the indemnity granted in the parliament of Stirling in 1650, the king, at the entreaty of Lord Lorn, granted a mandate, that nothing done previously to that time should be prosecuted, and that no sentence should be passed till the whole had been submitted to himself. This secured Argyle so far as related to the death of the late king: there only remained, therefore, the charge of compliance with the usurpation; and here, it has been said,* the treachery of Monk came to the aid of his enemies. He transmitted to the parliament some private letters, in which Argyle expressed his attachment to the protector's government: his friends were thereby silenced, and sentence was pronounced against him on the 25th of May. He implored a respite of ten days, that the pleasure of the king might be known; but Middleton, who hoped to get his title and estates, was inexorable. Argyle met his fate with great devoutness and fortitude on the 27th.

The next who suffered was Guthrey, one of the clergy who had promoted the western remonstrance. As he had once excommunicated Middleton, he had little chance of mercy. He died, full of hope and constancy, on the 1st of June. Swinton, another of the proscribed list, had become a Quaker: he acknowledged his fault with so much contrition that

* See Burnet. The story, however, is very doubtful, we might perhaps say untrue.

his life was spared, though his estate was taken from him. Wariston, who had escaped to the Continent, was delivered up two years after by the French government; and he likewise ended his days on a scaffold.

The soil having been thus watered with the blood of the covenanters Argyle and Guthrey, it was resolved to replant Episcopacy. Against this Lauderdale strongly remonstrated, and the king himself was long doubtful of its expediency: but Clarendon would yield to no suggestions of prudence, and the measure was finally resolved on. As there was only one Scottish bishop now living, it was necessary that some of the new prelates should be consecrated in England. Sharp, who had been the agent of the Presbyterians at London and Breda, and who, in the hope of preferment, had basely betrayed their cause, was made Archbishop of St. Andrew's; the excellent Leighton (son to Laud's victim) and two others were consecrated with him, by Sheldon, bishop of London; and these consecrated the remaining prelates in Scotland. An act of indemnity was finally passed: but, harsh and cruel, it seemed framed only with a view to plunder.

Unhappy Ireland was also to be regulated anew. No blood was here to be shed; and the church, as a matter of course, resumed its former position; but the adjustment of property was a matter of extreme difficulty. The tide of conquest had swept over the country, effacing all limits and landmarks. The greater part of the lands were now in the possession of the adventurers who had advanced their money on the faith of acts of parliament passed with the assent of the late king, and of the soldiers of Cromwell's army: still there were numerous other claimants, such as the Forty-nine men, or those who had served in the royal army previously to the year 1649; the Protestant loyalists, whose estates had been confiscated, the innocent Catholics, those who had served under the king in Flanders, etc.

The king issued a Declaration on the 30th of No-

vember, 1660, for the settlement of Ireland: but the Irish houses of parliament disagreeing with respect to it, they sent their deputies over to the king, while the Catholics at the same time despatched agents on their part. Charles was, for obvious reasons, disposed to favour these last, but they seemed resolved that it should not be in his power. They justified the rebellion, denied the massacres, and finally so disgusted the king with their conduct, that he ordered the doors of the council to be closed against them. The heads of a bill were then prepared and sent over to Dublin, in May, 1662; but it was three years before the final settlement was effected. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to give up a third of their lands, and to augment what was called "The Fund of Reprisals," or property still remaining at the disposal of the crown, which had been shamefully diminished by lavish grants to the dukes of York, Ormond, Albemarle, and others. Out of this the Forty-nine men were paid their arrears, and fifty-four Catholics restored to their houses, with two thousand acres of land: but there remained no less than three thousand who had put in claims of innocence, for whom no relief was provided. Probably only a portion of these were really innocent, but they should not have been thus condemned unheard.* Previously to the rebellion, it is said the Catholics had possessed two thirds of the lands of Ireland: there now remained to them not more than one third.† Dearly

* It is said that no less than four thousand claimants applied for trial before the commissioners; and that so many of these had succeeded in establishing their innocence as to create serious apprehensions that the Catholic proprietors would recover a large proportion of their lands. To prevent this, the following most iniquitous expedient was resorted to. The time of the sitting of the commissioners was so shortened, that not more than a fourth part of the claimants could possibly be heard; so that the remaining three fourths were in this way not only robbed of their estates, but denied even the privilege granted to the worst criminals, of pleading in their own defence.—*Am. Ed.*

† Sir W. Petty, quoted by Hallam (iii., 528); Lingard (xi., 243)

did they pay for the massacre of the Protestants in the outset, committed by a savage rabble, set on by an ignorant and fanatic priesthood. It has been asserted, but the assertion is incredible, that a third part of the population perished by the sword, famine, and disease, between 1641 and 1652.*

We now return to England, where the marriage of the king engaged the attention of his council. Charles was a notorious profligate. While in France he had a son by a Mrs. Barlow or Walters; and immediately after his coming to England, Barbara Villiers, daughter of Lord Grandison, and wife to a Romish gentleman named Palmer, a woman of great beauty, but utterly devoid of virtue or principle, having thrown herself in his way, made a conquest of his heart, over which she long retained her empire, though only one sultana out of many. The scandal which the king occasioned by his profligacy induced his ministers to urge him to marry: but he had determined not to espouse a Protestant, and his subjects, he was persuaded, would object to a Catholic. At the suggestion of the French king, however, the Portuguese ambassador offered him the infanta Catharine, sister to the King of Portugal, with a dower of £500,000, the settlements of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and her colonies.

The money tempted the king, and Clarendon and the other ministers approved of the match, but the Spanish ambassador laboured to obstruct it. He spoke disparagingly of the person of the infanta; insinuating, at the same time, that the marriage might cause a war with Spain, and the loss of the Spanish trade; and he offered, on the part of his master, a large portion with either of the princesses of Parma. Charles sent Lord Bristol secretly to Italy, where he saw the princesses as they were going to church. A single glance sufficed: the one being hideously ugly, the other mon-

says that only a sixth remained to the Catholics. This statement appears to us to be much nearer the truth.

* See Appendix (L).

strously fat. In the mean time Louis sent to urge the Portuguese match, offering Charles money to purchase votes in the parliament, promising to lend him £50,000 whenever he should want it, and to aid him with funds also in case of a war with Spain. The Spaniard, on the other hand, proposed to him different Protestant princesses, whom his master would portion equal to daughters of Spain. He laboured, likewise, to excite the Protestant feelings of the parliament and city, but to no purpose. The Portuguese match was finally approved by the council and both houses, and in June, 1661, the Earl of Sandwich was sent out with a fleet to convey the infanta to England.

The prospect of the king's marriage made Mrs. Palmer, his favourite, not a little uneasy; and to reconcile her, he made her costly presents, and created her husband Earl of Castlemain in Ireland, with remainder to the issue male of his wife; and, finally, lost to all sense of honour and delicacy, he even pledged himself to make her lady of the bedchamber to his queen.

On the 20th of May, 1662, the fleet which bore the infanta reached Spithead, and Charles hastened to Portsmouth to receive his bride. They were married privately, according to the rites of the Church of Rome, by the Lord Aubigny, the queen's almoner. They then came forth, and, sitting in the room where the company was assembled, Sheldon, bishop of London, pronounced them man and wife. They thence proceeded to Hampton Court, where, after some days, Charles taking "The Lady," as Castlemain was called, by the hand, presented her to the queen before his whole court. Catharine had so much command of herself as to give her a gracious reception, but in a few moments her eyes filled with tears, blood gushed from her nose, and she fell into a fit. Charles now immediately affected the tone of a man of honour: he had, he said, been the cause of Castlemain's disgrace, and he was bound to make her reparation, and would not submit to the whims of his wife. Clarendon and

Ormond remonstrated, but were harshly reproved, and even required to lend their aid in the royal project; and who will not blush for Clarendon when he reads that he actually did undertake the odious office? Catharine, however, would not listen to him. To break her spirit, Charles then sent away her Portuguese attendants, and the presence of Castlemain was continually obtruded on her. The queen long bore up against these studied insults; but at length she most imprudently yielded; and humbled herself so far as to admit that abandoned woman to her familiarity and friendship.

The queen's portion was soon spent, and, to raise money for the royal expenses, Clarendon, it is said, proposed the sale of Dunkirk to the French king. Louis, of course, was eager to treat. Clarendon demanded twelve millions of livres: he was offered two, and on the 11th of September the bargain was finally concluded for five. But Charles wanted all the money at once, and Louis would consent only to pay two millions down, and the remainder in two years. The treaty was on this account nearly broken off, when it was suggested that Louis should give bills for the balance. This was agreed to, and a French banker came over and discounted them. The banker was an agent of Louis, and he boasted that he made 500,000 livres by the transaction.* Dunkirk was certainly of no immediate benefit to England, but still the possession of it gratified the national pride, and the people felt not a little mortified at seeing it sold, and the price squandered away on the king's vices and pleasures.

The sale of Dunkirk, however, was a trifle compared with the cruel Act of Uniformity which now came into operation. It had been urged on by the united bigotry of the clergy, of Clarendon, and the house of commons; and the lords in vain attempted to mitigate its severity: the commons were inexorable. It provided that every minister should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew (on the 24th of August), publicly de-

* Œuvres de Louis XIV., i., 167.

clare his assent and consent to everything contained in the book of Common Prayer, or lose his benefice. The appointed day came; and about two thousand ministers, the far greater part of them men of extensive learning, sincere piety, and irreproachable life, laid down their preferments; and, rather than do violence to their conscience, voluntarily submitted to poverty and persecution. It may be said that the Episcopal clergy had done as much in the late times, but those too were times of civil war; politics were so interwoven with religion, it must be remembered, that it was difficult to separate them, and they had the prospect of ample reward in case of the king's success. But now all was peace; the king had been restored, in a great measure, through the exertions of these very men; there was no longer a political contest; and conscience alone could have actuated them. Henry VIII. assigned pensions to the ejected monks and friars; Elizabeth had reserved a fifth of the income of the benefices for those who scrupled to comply with her act of uniformity; the Long Parliament had done the same; but now no provision whatever was made: nay, care was taken that those who did not conform should lose the last year's income of their livings, as their tithes would not fall due till Michaelmas.

Petitions, claiming the benefit of the declaration from Breda, being presented to the king, he improved the occasion by setting forth a declaration, promising to exert his influence with parliament at its next session to have his dispensing power so regulated as to enable him to exercise it with more universal satisfaction. His secret object, however, was to procure toleration for the Catholics; but on this head the commons were lynx-eyed. The Protestantism of the royal brothers was strongly suspected; and the Romish priests, in reliance on the court favour, gave public offence by appearing in their clerical habits. The commons, therefore, rejected the whole scheme of indulgence; and in February, 1663, brought in bills to prevent the growth of popery.

Rumours of conspiracies were now spread, in order to cast odium on the ejected clergy; and a slight insurrection, which did take place in Yorkshire, was taken advantage of to pass, in the following session, May 16th, 1664, the merciless Coventicle Act. By this, any person above the age of sixteen who should be present at any religious meeting not held according to the practice of the Church of England, where there were assembled five or more persons besides the household, was to be imprisoned three months for the first offence, six for the second, and transported seven years for the third, on conviction before a single justice of the peace. This cruel statute speedily filled the prisons, especially with the Quakers.

The repeal of the Triennial Act of 1641 was effected during this session. The king had the audacity to declare that he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed in it; and, to please him, a bill was brought in to repeal it, and passed, with a provision, however, that parliaments should not be intermitted for more than three years at any one time.

Another measure of this session was an address to the king, praying him to seek redress for the injuries inflicted by the Dutch on the English trade, and promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes.

The Dutch were more devoted to commerce than any other people in Europe; and as the spirit of trade is jealous and monopolizing, they had been guilty of many unjustifiable actions in their foreign settlements, such, for instance, as the massacre of the English at Amboyna in the reign of James I. These, however, were past and gone; and treaties had been since made with them, in which these transactions had been wholly unnoticed, even so late as the year 1662. Charles himself, though he had a great dislike to the aristocratic or Louvestein party, as it was called, which now ruled in the States, and which had deprived the Prince of Orange of the dignity of stadtholder, was little inclined to a war; and Clarendon and Southampton were decidedly averse to it; but the Duke of

York, who was lord-admiral, was anxious to distinguish himself at the head of the navy, which his exertions had brought to a state of great perfection; he was also a strenuous supporter of trade, which he justly regarded as a main pillar of the national greatness. He therefore lent his powerful aid to the party in favour of war; and Downing, the resident at the Hague, a man of little principle, spared no pains to widen the breach between the two countries.

The Duke of York was at the head of an African company, formed for the purchase of gold-dust and for supplying the West Indies with slaves. The Dutch, who had long traded to Africa, thwarted them as much as possible, and even seized or demolished their factories. The duke had already sent out Sir Robert Holmes, in the name of the company, with some ships of war to the coast of Africa; and Holmes had recovered the castle of Cape Corse, taken that of Cape Verd, and established factories along the coast. The duke had also sent out Sir Richard Nicholas to North America, where the Dutch had established a colony on the coast between New-England and Maryland, and named it New-Amsterdam. The English claimed this part of the country by right of discovery, and the king had already made a grant of it to his brother. The Dutch settlers offered no resistance; and Nicholas named the country New-York, and a fort up the Hudson River Albany, from the titles of his patron.

When intelligence was received of what Holmes had done, the Dutch ambassador remonstrated in strong terms. The king, however, denied all concern in the transaction; said that Holmes had been sent out by the company on their own authority, and promised to bring him to trial on his return. Holmes accordingly was sent to the Tower: but his explanations were considered satisfactory, and he was soon released. De Witt, meanwhile, was resolved to be avenged. A combined Dutch and English fleet, under De Ruyter and Lawson, was now in the Mediterranean acting against the piratical cruisers, and he sent secret

orders to the former to proceed to the coast of Africa and retaliate on the English. Lawson, though aware of De Ruyter's object, did not feel himself authorized by his instructions to pursue him: but he sent to inform the duke of his suspicions. The Dutch admiral, after accomplishing his mission on the African coast, crossed over to the West Indies, where he captured about twenty sail of merchantmen. The duke, in the mean time, had despatched two fleets to cruise in the narrow seas, which seized and detained one hundred and thirty Dutch traders.

War being now resolved on, the king, on the 25th of November, called on parliament for the requisite supplies. Their liberality was unprecedented; they voted two millions and a half. In the bill for this purpose, two remarkable deviations from ancient usage were effected; the old method of raising money by subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths, which had been resorted to, was now abandoned for ever; and the mode of assessments introduced in the civil war was adopted in its stead. The clergy, who used to tax themselves in convocation, now consented to be taxed in the same manner as the laity, by parliament; and, in return, they obtained the right of voting at elections. This measure put an end to the influence and importance of the convocation, and it became from that moment a mere shadow. It is not a little singular, that this great change in the constitution should have been the effect of a mere verbal agreement between the chancellor and the primate.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the Duke of York put to sea with a gallant fleet of ninety-eight ships of war and four fire ships. This prince had made wonderful improvements in the navy. Instead of committing the command of ships to noblemen without nautical experience, he placed them under Lawson, and men who had long been familiar with the sea. He continued the practice of dividing the fleet into three squadrons, but required that it should be formed into line before action, and that each captain should keep his place during the engagement: thus substituting the

regularity of the land battle for the previous irregular mode of fighting practised at sea. The duke himself, with Lawson for his vice-admiral, commanded the red squadron, Prince Rupert the white, and the Earl of Sandwich the blue.

For more than a month this fleet rode in triumph off the coast of Holland. At length, an easterly wind having driven it to the English side, the Dutch fleet of one hundred and thirteen ships of war, commanded by Admiral Opdam, came out in seven squadrons. The fleets encountered on the 3d of June, off the coast of Suffolk. The sea was calm, the sky cloudless, and for four hours the fight was of doubtful issue. The duke displayed the greatest conduct and valour. One shot killed at his side his favourite the Earl of Falmouth, the Lord Muskerry, and a son of Lord Burlington's, and covered him with their blood. At length, observing great confusion on board of Admiral Opdam's ship, he ordered all his guns to be fired into her successively; when she blew up, and Opdam and five hundred men perished in her. Dispirited by the loss of their admiral, the Dutch fled. The English fleet pursued; but during the night, while the duke was taking some repose, Mr. Brounker, groom of his bedchamber, came to the master with pretended orders from the duke to shorten sail, and thus, in the morning, the Dutch had got safe into the Texel. This was the greatest naval victory which had been achieved by the English; the Dutch lost eighteen ships, had four admirals slain, and seven thousand men killed or taken. The loss of the English was but one ship and six hundred men; but among the slain were the admirals Lawson and Sampson, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland.

At another time the tidings of such a victory would have spread joy and festivity through all the streets of London: but now a gloom, not to be dispelled by the triumphs of war, sat brooding over the capital: the plague had visited it in its most appalling form.

In the midst of the last winter a few cases of this dreadful malady had occurred in the suburbs. The

number slowly increased as the season advanced; and in the latter part of May, the disease burst with fury forth from the filthy suburb of St. Giles's both on the city and Westminster. The court, the nobility, the gentry, and the more opulent citizens fled to the country, and thousands of others were about to follow; but the lord-mayor refused certificates of health, and the people of the adjoining towns took up arms to keep them away, and thus to ward off infection. As usual, its first ravages were among the lower classes, but it was not long confined to them. Various regulations were adopted on the 1st of July: the city was divided into districts, with proper officers; every house in which the disease prevailed was marked in the usual manner with a red cross on the door, and the words "Lord have mercy upon us!" over it;* pest-carts went round during the night with links (lights), and tinkling a bell to summon the people to bring forth their dead. The corpses, uncoffined and without any religious rite, were then cast into a common pit, prepared in the nearest churchyard. The men employed in this mournful office, taken from the dregs of the people, and hardened in vice and brutality, committed deeds too horrible to be told. The hired nurses also, it is said, often murdered the sick in order to rob them.

As in all similar cases, different minds were variously affected. While some devoted themselves to exercises of piety, and awaited their doom with calm resignation, others recklessly plunged into riot and debauch; and the awful silence which ordinarily prevailed was from time to time broken by the unhallowed orgies of the brothel and the tavern. Superstition, too, exerted its influence over others: many fancied they saw a flaming sword in the sky, hanging over the devoted city; others assembled in the churchyards,

* Shakspeare thus alludes to this practice (Love's Labour's Lost, act v., sc. 2):

> "Write 'Lord have mercy on us!' on these three;
> They are infected; in their hearts it lies;
> They have the plague, and caught it of your eyes."

where, in imagination, they beheld ghosts stalking around the pits which contained their bodies. Fanaticism was likewise awakened: one prophet walked naked through the streets, with a pan of burning coals on his head, denouncing woes on the sinful city; another went, proclaiming aloud, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed;" while a third might be heard, by day and by night, crying in sepulchral tones, "Oh, the great and dreadful God!"

July and August were months of oppressive heat. Though September was less sultry, the deaths increased. The experiment was tried of burning large fires in the streets. On the third night (the 8th of that month), they were extinguished by a copious fall of rain, and the deaths now diminished: but the next week the disease was more furious than ever, and men began to despair. The equinoctial gales at length brought healing on their wings; the mortality rapidly decreased; and, in the beginning of December, seventy-three parishes were pronounced free of disease, and their inhabitants resumed their ordinary avocations. The number of deaths in London had exceeded one hundred thousand; the malady had spread also over the rest of the kingdom, and its ravages in various places were in proportion to the density of their population.*

During this desolation, the fleet, which was uninfected, kept the sea; and the Dutch Smyrna and East-India fleets having taken shelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway, Lord Sandwich sailed thither. For a share of the spoil, the Danish court, it is said, had agreed to connive at the capture of the Dutch vessels. Owing, however, to some mismanagement, when the English ships entered the port and attacked the Dutch, they were fired on by the guns of the fort and obliged to retire. De Witt now came with a strong fleet to convoy the merchantmen home: but on the 4th of September they were dispersed by a storm, and Sand-

* The most vivid, we might add, faithful account, of this pestilence will be found in Defoe's fictitious History of the Plague.

wich captured some ships of war and two of the Indiamen. As he plundered these last, and allowed his captains to do the same, he was deprived of his command, and sent ambassador to Spain as a cover to his disgrace.

The overthrow of the government in England by means of the discontented Presbyterians and republicans was one part of De Witt's plans; and he entered into correspondence with Ludlow, Sidney, and the other exiles for this purpose. Lord Say and some others formed a council at the Hague, and corresponded with their friends in England. An insignificant plot had been discovered in London during the height of the plague; and when the parliament met in the following month, at Oxford, to grant supplies, an act was passed for attainting all British subjects who should continue in the service of the States.

During this session, also, was passed the severe Five-mile-act. During the plague, though many of the Episcopal clergy had remained and faced all perils in the discharge of their duty, many also had left their charges and sought safety in the country. Non-conformists, as the ejected clergy were now named, mounted the empty pulpits and preached to the despairing people. Their sermons were in general such as were suited to the season, but some of them could not refrain from dwelling on the sins of the court, and displaying the iniquity of their own expulsion. They, in so doing, had broken the law, no doubt, but surely the awful calamity then prevailing abundantly justified them. Sheldon, now primate, Clarendon, and their other enemies, however, took advantage of it; and, under the pretext of their having preached sedition, a bill was passed on the 30th of October, requiring every person in holy orders who had not subscribed to the Act of Uniformity, to swear that it is not lawful, under any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, etc. Those who should refuse this oath were declared incapable of teaching in schools, and were not, unless when travelling, to come within five miles of any city, town, or village in which they had

at any time exercised their ministry. This act of cold-blooded cruelty met with little opposition in the commons, who even wished to impose this oath on the whole nation, but Southampton and others resisted it strongly, though ineffectually, in the peers. It nearly amounted to a bill of starvation: for, as far as in it lay, it cut off all who would not profess the doctrine of passive obedience from almost every means of obtaining a livelihood.

The King of France, being bound by a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, was now required by them to share in the war. A French fleet being expected, therefore, to join that of the Dutch, the English fleet, under the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert, put to sea. Rupert proceeded, with twenty ships, in search of the French, who were said to be at Belleisle; while Albemarle, with fifty-four, went in pursuit of the Gun-fleet. To his surprise, on the 1st of June, 1666, he saw the Dutch fleet, of eighty sail, under De Ruyter and De Witt, lying off the North Foreland. Unequal as the numbers were, he resolved to fight, and bore down without any order. Most of the ships of the blue squadron, which led the van, were either taken or disabled, and night ended the combat. The next morning, however, it was renewed. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, but the English again fought till night. Albemarle then burned a part of his disabled ships, and ordered the others to make for the nearest harbours. In the morning he had only sixteen ships to oppose to the enemy's pursuit. He had lost the Prince Royal, the finest ship in the navy, on the Galloper Sand, and the others were likely to share her fate, when Rupert, who had been recalled on the first day of the battle, came at length to his aid. The engagement was renewed on the following morning, but the hostile fleets were separated by a fog. Victory was certainly with the Dutch, yet the English lost no honour. "They may be killed," said De Witt, "but they will not be conquered." The obstinacy and temerity of Albemarle were justly censured.

The hostile fleets were soon again at sea; and an

action was fought on the 25th, in which the advantage was on the side of the English, who now rode in triumph off the shores of Holland. On the 8th of August, Holmes, with a squadron of boats and fireships, entered the channel where the Baltic traders lay, and burned one hundred and fifty of them, two men-of-war, and the adjoining town of Brandaris. De Witt, maddened at the sight, swore that he would never sheath the sword till he had had revenge. He accordingly called on his French ally for immediate aid. Louis, who was exciting the discontented Irish Catholics to insurrection, and who had lately offered Algernon Sidney £20,000 in aid of a project for raising the commonwealth-party in England, would have preferred not to put his fleet at hazard. He, however, ordered the Duke de Beaufort, who was now at Rochelle, to set sail and join De Ruyter. This admiral had already passed the Strait of Dover, when Prince Rupert came in view. As De Ruyter himself was in ill health, and his men were little inclined to fight, he took shelter near Boulogne; and Rupert then sailed to engage Beaufort, who was coming up the channel. But a violent wind forced him to make a harbour at St. Helen's, and Beaufort got into Dieppe.

The wind that blew the fleet to St. Helen's was a fatal wind to England. On the night of Sunday, the 2d of September, a fire broke out in a bakehouse, near Fish-street, in the city of London. The houses in that quarter being of wood, with pitched roofs, the flames spread rapidly; the pipes from the New River proved to be empty; the engine on the Thames was burned; the wind increased every hour in vehemence; and the conflagration extended in a short time even to distant buildings. The obvious expedient for arresting the progress of the fire by the demolition of houses was prevented from being put in execution by the avarice of their owners, and the flames spread unchecked on all sides. The spectacle on the night of the 3d was magnificent in the extreme, though awful. For ten miles around it was as light as day. A column of fire, a mile in diameter, mounted into the sky,

the flames bent and twisted by the fury of the wind. The heat was intense, and evermore the sound of the fall of houses or churches struck the listening ear. Groups of people were to be seen flying in all directions, with the little portions of their property which they had been able to save.

For once during his reign the conduct of the king was praiseworthy. He displayed the utmost energy; he was present in all places of danger, animating and rewarding the workmen; he had provisions brought from the royal stores for the relief of the houseless wanderers; and he employed every precaution to prevent robbery and violence. In all his exertions he was cordially aided by his brother.

On Wednesday evening, the 5th, the wind abated. By blowing up houses with gunpowder, the advance of the fire to the Temple and the Tower was checked, and the flames were gradually spent for want of fuel. Two thirds of the city, containing thirteen thousand houses and eighty-nine churches, were in ashes; and two hundred thousand people were lying in huts, or in the open air, in the fields between Islington and Highgate. The immediate distress and suffering were great, and thousands were ruined: but London soon rose from its desolation, better and more regularly built; the streets were wider; the houses of brick instead of wood; and it thence became more healthy, and less subject to the plague.

It is not to be supposed that the real cause should be assigned for this calamity. Incendiaries, it was averred, were seen firing the city in various parts. Some laid it on the French, some on the republicans, but it was finally fixed on the general scapegoat, the papists; and the beautiful column, raised by authority on the spot where the fire commenced, long, "like a tall bully, lifted its head and lied," as the poet declares, in the inscription which it bore.

The parliament was liberal in its grant for continuing the war: but, owing to the great losses and derangements occasioned by the fire, the bankers could not make advances as they had usually done. The

king was therefore induced to lay up the larger ships, and only to keep at sea two light squadrons of frigates. There was, indeed, every prospect of a speedy peace: for Louis, who claimed Flanders in right of his wife, wished, ere he engaged in a conflict with Spain, to be at peace with England; and four out of the seven United Provinces were induced by him to declare for peace. De Witt, therefore, was obliged to yield; and, on the 14th of May, 1667, ambassadors met at Breda to discuss the terms. When an armistice was proposed, the Dutch objected, on account of the delay it would cause; and, while it was under debate, De Witt and De Ruyter left the Texel, ordering the fleet, of seventy sail, to rendezvous at the buoy off the Nore. The ships having arrived, the Dutch admirals, on the 9th of June, entered the Thames in two divisions, and, while one sailed up to Gravesend, the other prepared to enter the Medway. The Duke of Albemarle, at the first alarm, had hastened down, erected batteries, and placed guard-ships for the defence of the boom at the mouth of that river, and sunk five ships in the channel before it. On the 11th, while he was thus engaged, the Dutch advanced, with wind and tide in their favour; but the sunken ships impeded them so much that they were obliged to fall back. The next morning, having discovered a new channel, they came up, silenced the batteries, broke the boom, and burned the guard-ships. The following morning they advanced to Upnor; and, having there burned three first-rates, fell down the river with the ebb, and returned to the Nore. For six weeks De Ruyter continued to insult the English coast.

In the mean time the progress of the French arms in Flanders alarmed the Dutch, and they hastened to terminate the war with England. Each party yielded something, and peace was concluded on the 21st of July.

The influence of Lord Clarendon had long been on the decline. He had made himself enemies of all classes, some by his faults, and others by his virtues. The Cavaliers hated him for his honourable adherence

to the act of indemnity; the Nonconformists for his intolerance; the Catholics for his zealous Protestantism; the courtiers for his opposition to their rapacity; and, above all, Castlemain hated him because he would not allow his wife to visit her. His high notions of prerogative disgusted the friends of liberty; and his haughtiness and dictatorial manner offended the two houses. The king himself grew weary of his lectures and his opposition to his will. He found that he had too great a regard for the religion and liberties of the country to abet his projects for the overthrow of both; and he was, therefore, secretly desirous to get rid of him.

An attack had been already made on the chancellor. In 1663, the clever, but impetuous and unsteady Earl of Bristol (the Lord Digby of the preceding pages), who had now become a Catholic, had impeached him in the house of lords, but the charges were so frivolous that they were at once rejected; and a warrant being issued to take the accuser into custody, on account of his insolence to the king, he was obliged to conceal himself for some time. Bristol's plan, however, failed only because the enemies of Clarendon were not yet sufficiently strong: but, after the Dutch had burned the ships in the Medway, and the nation had been incensed against the obnoxious minister, and the king himself alienated from him, it was thought the attack might be renewed with success. Charles was prevailed on to send his son-in-law, the Duke of York, to him, to induce him to resign the seal; but in a personal conference with the king on the 26th of August, Clarendon refused to do this, as it would be, he said, a confession of guilt. A few days after, however, he was ordered to give it up, and it was transferred to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next session (on the 6th of November) the commons exhibited seventeen articles of impeachment against the earl: but the bishops stood resolutely by their friend, while the Duke of York adhered faithfully to his father-in-law; and several of the peers were of opinion either that the charges were false, or

the course adopted by the commons unconstitutional. The motion for committing him was therefore lost; conferences of the houses ensued; and the king, in perplexity, expressed his desire that the accused would secretly retire to the Continent: but this Clarendon was either too proud, or too conscious of innocence to do. At length, however, on the 29th, the Duke of York was the bearer to him of a positive command to quit the kingdom. To this he yielded a reluctant obedience; and, leaving a written vindication of himself, he retired to France. The commons, on the 9th of December, voted this paper to be a libel, and ordered it to be burned by the common hangman. An act of banishment immediately followed, subjecting him to the penalties of treason if he should return. He fixed his residence for some time at Montpellier, and died at Rouen, in Normandy, in 1674.

Edward, earl of Clarendon, occupies a prominent station in English history both as a minister and writer. In the former character, allowing for the times, he may be considered as comparatively honest: for, though he would sell the favours of the crown,* as was the common practice, he was careful that his venality should not injure it. His notions of government were narrow and illiberal; and he regarded the reigns of Elizabeth and James as exhibiting the most perfect state of the constitution, without considering that in politics everything is progressive. He therefore required that parliament should be humbly submissive to the crown; and still he would not have the crown independent of it. He was a bigot in religion, and haughty, overbearing, and pompous in his deportment. In private life he was rigidly correct. His fall reflects disgrace on the worthless prince who abandoned him to the profligate band of courtiers that sought his ruin.

* His own partial friend Evelyn said of him, that he "never did nor would do anything but for money." Lord Dover, in his acute work on this subject, has collected from Pepys and others indubitable proofs of Clarendon's avarice and venality. Even Mr. D'Israeli seems to have no doubts on this subject.

As an historian, Clarendon is distinguished by his skill in the delineation of character, and by the air of dignity which pervades his narrative, though his style is involved and diffuse. His work is rather an apology for his party (as is indicated, indeed, by the title) than an impartial history: it consequently exhibits throughout the political feelings of the writer. Its worst fault is its disregard of truth, which appears in places even where the author had no interest in disguising or misrepresenting the facts. And still it is, on the whole, a noble production, and is justly regarded as one of the classics of the English language.*

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1668–1678.

The Cabal.—Plot of the King against the Protestant Religion.—Coventry Act.—Attempts of Blood.—Second Dutch War.—Parties in Parliament.—Pensions given by France.—Marriage of the Prince of Orange.—Parliament.—Peace of Nimeguen.—Conduct of the Country-party.

THE ministry which had hitherto regulated public affairs was now at an end. Southampton was dead, Clarendon banished, Nicholas had resigned, Albemarle was infirm, and, besides, his miserable avarice had deprived him of weight, and Ormond resided in Ireland. A new ministry was formed, and the most profligate that England had ever seen. It was styled the Cabal: a common term, but which curiously coincided

* "He dares very frequently," says Hallam, "to say what is not true, and what he must have known to be otherwise; and he does not dare to say what is true. No defence has ever been set up for the fidelity of Clarendon's history; though, as a monument of powerful ability and impressive eloquence, it will always be read with delight."—*Am. Ed.*

with the initial letters of the names of its members, viz., Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

Clifford, the son of a clergyman, had been, as was suspected, secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome. He was a man of great resolution, violent and impetuous. He was now a commissioner of the treasury, and afterward made high-treasurer. The Earl of Arlington (formerly Sir Henry Bennet) was secretary of state, an office which he had held for some time, and was at the head of the party in the cabinet opposed to Clarendon. He too, perhaps, was secretly a papist. No man knew better how to manage the king's temper, and he never let principle stand in the way of his designs. Buckingham was the son of the favourite of Charles I., and was married to the daughter and heiress of Lord Fairfax. He had wit and humour, and a great talent for mimicry and ridicule, but was utterly devoid of religion and morality. Ashley (afterward Earl of Shaftesbury) was chancellor of the exchequer. As Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, he had at first been on the king's side in the civil wars; he then went over to the parliament, and became a strenuous supporter of Cromwell; and, finally, he was active in the Restoration. He was accused of being equally devoid of religion and principle: but his talents were allowed to be of the highest order, and in one sense he was honourable, inasmuch as he never betrayed the party which he had abandoned. Lauderdale was a man of talent, but of violent passions, rough and boisterous in manner, and at all times ready to surrender his judgment and his principles to the will of the court. Sir William Coventry, one of the ablest and most honest statesmen of the time, was made commissioner of the treasury.

The first act of this ministry, however, was a laudable one. The rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders giving cause of general alarm, the able and upright Sir William Temple was despatched to the Hague, to propose to the States a union with Spain, in order to check the aggressions of France. In the

short space of five days three treaties were concluded, viz., on the 16th of January, 1668. One was a defensive alliance; the second an engagement to oblige Spain to make peace on the terms which Louis had offered; and by the third (which was a secret one), the contracting parties bound themselves, in case of the French king's refusal, to join with Spain in compelling him to confirm the peace of the Pyrenees. Sweden joined in this league, and hence it was styled the Triple Alliance. Louis, who had already, in secret, contracted an "eventual treaty" for the partition of the Spanish monarchy with the Emperor Leopold, in which he had bound himself to do the very thing now required of him, after making a little display of his usual theatrical dignity, agreed to treat. Plenipotentiaries met at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 22d of April, and peace was concluded, the towns which he had conquered in Flanders being ceded to Louis; and thus the French frontier was brought close to that of the United Provinces. It was, however, this treaty alone that prevented Spain from losing the whole of Flanders.

Buckingham, though without any ostensible post, was now, in fact, prime minister, and one so profligate in morals has rarely been seen in England. He was living in open concubinage with Lady Shrewsbury, which led, at this very time, to a duel, in which the injured husband was mortally wounded.* It was unfortunate for the cause of the Nonconformists to be advocated, as it was, by a man of such a character: the commons, therefore, negatived by a large majority a bill introduced for their relief. They voted, also, but half the sum demanded for the navy, and instituted a rigid inquiry into the conduct of various persons in the late war.

As money for the supply of the royal mistresses and other profligacies of the court was not to be obtained from the parliament, Buckingham began to

* The abandoned countess, it is said, dressed as a page, held the horse of her paramour while he was fighting with her husband.

form other projects. The first was to reduce the royal expenditure below the revenue; but with a prince of Charles's character that was impracticable. It was then resolved to have recourse to the King of France. Buckingham therefore entered into a negotiation with the Duchess of Orleans, and Charles himself apologized to the French resident for his share in the Triple Alliance. Louis, as usual, affected indifference: but the communications gradually became more confidential, and, by the end of the year, Louis had the leading English ministers in his pay.*

It was not merely the means to promote his pleasures that Charles now looked to: he wished also to be absolute. Not that, like his father, he believed despotic power to be his right, or that he felt any particular satisfaction in the exercise of it: what he wanted was freedom from restraint. He could not endure that his private life should be publicly criticized, or that parliaments should presume to inquire what had been done with the money they had granted.† All this, he considered, might be obviated by a standing army, which he might make it the interest of Louis to furnish him with the means of maintaining. But there was still another motive operating on the mind of Charles, which, from the tenour of his life, one would have little suspected.

The Duke of York had at this time become a Catholic. His own account of his conversion is as follows. While he was in Flanders, he read, at the request of a bishop of the Church of England, a treatise by that prelate, written to clear that church from the guilt of schism in separating from the Church of Rome. He also, at the bishop's desire, read a reply which had been made to it, and the effect produced on his mind was the contrary of what had been intended. After the Restoration, he read Heylin's "History of

* Colbert, the French resident, wrote that he had made them "sentir toute l'étendue de la libéralité de sa majesté" [*feel the whole extent of his majesty's liberality*].

† The profligacy of Charles and his court will ever live in the "Memoires du Comte de Grammont."

the Reformation," and the preface to Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," and the result was a persuasion that none of the reformers "had power to do what they did." He went on inquiring, and gradually gave his assent to the Romish doctrines. It must be observed, that the duke, while thus solicitous about his religion, was leading a life nearly, if not altogether, as profligate as that of his brother. All this time he continued outwardly to conform to the Church of England. At length he consulted a Jesuit, named Simons, on the subject of being reconciled: expressing a hope that, on account of the singularity of his case, he might have a dispensation to continue his outward conformity to the Church of England. To his surprise, the good father assured him that the pope had not the power to grant it, "for that it was an unalterable doctrine of the Catholic church *not to do evil that good might follow*." The duke wrote to the pope, and the reply which he received was to the same effect. Thinking it dangerous to delay any longer, he now resolved to open his mind to the king, whom he knew to be of the same way of thinking. He found his brother equally sensible with himself as to the danger of his condition. It was agreed, therefore, between the royal brothers, that they should consult with the lords Arundel of Wardour and Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford (all in the secret), on the best mode of advancing the Catholic religion in the king's dominions.

On the 24th of January, 1669, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, a meeting was accordingly held in the duke's closet. The king spoke with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, describing his uneasiness at not being able openly to profess the faith which he believed. As he knew, he said, that he should meet with great difficulties in what he proposed to accomplish, no time was to be lost; and it should be undertaken while he and his brother were in full strength and vigour, and able to undergo any fatigue. It was resolved to apply to the French king for aid, for which purpose his ambassador was to be

let into the secret; and it was agreed that Lord Arundel, with Sir Richard Bellings, an Irish Catholic, for his secretary, should go to the court of France. Arundel, on his arrival at Paris, required from Louis a large sum of money, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection that might break out, offering, in return, to aid him in his intended invasion of Holland. Louis was willing to assent to these terms; and the only question was, which should be first, the war or the king's declaration of his religion. Charles, urged by his brother, was for the latter: Louis more wisely recommended the former. The year passed away in discussions: at Christmas the king received the sacrament, as usual, in public, but it was observed that the Duke of York did not accompany him.

The conventicle-act was now near expiring. The lord-keeper and Chief-justice Hale, with the aid of bishops Wilkins and Reynolds, and of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Burton, and other divines, had been engaged in forming a scheme of comprehension, which was communicated to Baxter, Bates, and Morton, and by them to their nonconforming brethren. Nothing could be more reasonable than the alterations proposed, and a plan equally rational was devised. But Sheldon and the other intolerants took the alarm; neither had the commons abated in their hostility; and the conventicle-act was renewed, with the addition of a proviso, "that all clauses in it shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof." Could anything be more barbarous than this? The vile crew of informers was now unkennelled, houses were broken open, and ministers and other persons dragged to prison. Sheldon and those prelates, such as Ward and Lamplugh, who resembled himself, were zealous in causing the act to be enforced; and the court secretly encouraged them, in the hope of driving the dissenters to look to a Catholic government for relief.*

* "The rigorous Church of England men were let loose and

It is said that Buckingham was most anxious to prevent the succession of the Duke of York. According to this prince's own account, his first project was to get the king to acknowledge the legitimacy of his son by Lucy Barlow, whom he had created Duke of Monmouth, and given in marriage to the Countess of Buccleugh, the wealthiest heiress in Scotland; and lords Carlisle and Ashley, he adds, had the boldness to hint to the king, that, if he was desirous of doing so, it would not be difficult to procure witnesses of his marriage; but Charles replied, "that, well as he loved the duke, he had rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for his legitimate son." To get rid, by some means or other, of the childless queen, in order to enable the king to marry again, was the next plan. Buckingham proposed to seize and convey her away secretly to the plantations, so that she might be no more heard of: but Charles rejected this course with horror. The next project was to intrigue with the queen's confessor, to induce her to go into a convent: but she had no mind to be a nun; and means, it is said, were employed to cause the pope to forbid her from taking the veil. Some advised even that the king should take a second wife; but the public feeling was adverse to polygamy. A divorce was then proposed, and to this the king hearkened: but spiritual divorces were only from bed and board, and a precedent was wanting for the legal marriage of the innocent party. Lord Roos, therefore, whose wife was living in open profligacy, got a bill to be moved in the upper house on the 5th of March, 1670, to enable him to marry again. The duke, seeing whither this tended, opposed it with all his might: all the bishops except Cosins and Wilkins were on his side, and all the Catholic and several of the Protestant peers. The king employed his influence in favour of it; and on the morning of the third reading (the 21st), he came and sat on the throne, saying, he had come to renew an old custom

encouraged underhand to persecute, that the Nonconformists might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the Catholics prevailed."—*Life of James*, i., 443.

of attending at their debates, and desired them to go on as though he were not present. The bill was carried by a small majority, and became a precedent for other bills of the same kind; but the king took no advantage of it.* He continued for some time the practice of attending the debates: "it was as good," he said, "as going to a play," and his presence was some check on the opposition.

In the month of May, Louis, while making a progress through his newly-acquired provinces, took occasion to let the Duchess of Orleans cross the sea to Dover, to visit her brother, over whose mind she possessed great influence. Louis hoped that she would be able to prevail on him to commence with the war against the States instead of the declaration of religion: but Charles was immoveable on this point. The famous secret treaty was at this time concluded. Charles was to declare himself a Catholic when he might judge it to be expedient, and then to join Louis in a war with the Dutch. Louis, on the other hand, was to give him two millions of livres, and a force of six thousand men; all the expenses of the war by land were to be borne by the French king, and he was to pay three millions of livres annually towards the support of the English navy; the combined fleet was to be commanded by the Duke of York; and if the States should be conquered, Charles was to have Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand, and the Prince of Orange was to be provided for. It was farther agreed, that if any new rights to the Spanish monarchy should accrue to Louis by the death of the king, a puny boy, Charles should aid him in asserting his claims with all his power; and that, in return, he should have Ostend, Minorca, and such parts of South America as he could conquer.

Such was the conspiracy that was formed against the Protestant faith and the liberties of Europe; but many difficulties stood in the way of its success.

* We do not see how he well could, as no charge of a scandalous nature could be made against the queen.

Charles was aware of the Protestant spirit of his subjects: he did not venture, therefore, to communicate the secret treaty to his Protestant ministers; and, to blind them, he let Buckingham conclude another (the counterpart of it in all except the article of religion) on the 23d of January, 1671. When urged by Louis to declare his religion, he made various excuses; and the course of events soon caused Louis to cease from pressing him.

In the debate on the supplies in the commons, it was proposed to lay a tax on the playhouses. To this it was objected that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked whether "his majesty's pleasure lay among the men or the women players?" This was reported at court; and the king, though earnestly dissuaded by the duke, resolved on a base and cowardly vengeance. The Duke of Monmouth was the chief agent, with his lieutenant Sands, and O'Brien, son of Lord Inchiquin; and, as Coventry was returning one night to his lodgings, Sands and O'Brien, with thirteen of the guards, fell on him in the Haymarket. Coventry snatched the flambeau from his servant, and with it in one hand and his sword in the other, placing his back against the wall, he defended himself stoutly. He wounded O'Brien in the arm: but they overpowered him, threw him on the ground, and slit his nose with a penknife. They then repaired to the Duke of Monmouth, to boast of what they had done. When the commons reassembled, they were outrageous at this base assault on one of their members; and they passed an act, banishing the perpetrators without pardon, unless they should surrender, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to maim or disfigure the person. This act is called the Coventry Act.

A still more atrocious attempt had lately been made on a more illustrious person. As the Duke of Ormond was returning in the dark from a dinner given by the city, his coach was stopped in St. James's-street, he was dragged out of it, set behind a man on horseback, and fastened to him by a belt. The man

urged his horse and proceeded towards Hyde Park; but, on the way, the duke put his foot under the rider's, and, leaning to the other side, they both fell to the ground. The sound of footsteps being heard, the assassin loosed the belt and fired a pair of pistols at the duke, but without effect. He then ran away and escaped. An inquiry was instituted by the house of lords, and a reward of £1000, and a pardon to any of the party who would turn informer, were offered by the king, but to no purpose.*

Some time after, a person wearing a cassock formed an acquaintance with Edwards, the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. He proposed a match between a nephew of his and Edwards's daughter. At seven in the morning of the 9th of May, the pretended clergyman came with two companions, and asked to see the regalia. While they were in the room, they suddenly threw a cloak over Edwards's head, and then put a gag in his mouth; and when he struggled, they knocked him down and wounded him in the body. The clergyman then placed the crown under his cloak, another put the globe in his pocket, and the third began to file the sceptre in two, to put it in a bag. Edwards's son happening to come by, the alarm was given; the robbers ran, and had nearly reached their horses at St. Catharine's gate, when they were secured. From curiosity, or some other motive, the king himself attended their examination. The chief said that his name was Blood; that it was he that had seized the Duke of Ormond, with the intention of hanging him at Tyburn; that he was one of a band of three hundred, sworn to avenge each other's death;

* Some suspected Buckingham; and Ormond's son, Ossory, on coming to court a short time after, and seeing him standing by the king, said to him, "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father. But I give you warning. If by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author. I shall consider *you* as the assassin; I shall treat you as such; and, wherever I meet you, I will pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair. And I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance."

that he and others had resolved to kill the king for his severity to the godly; that he had one time taken his station among the reeds at Battersea to shoot him as he was bathing, but the awe of majesty overcame him, and he relented; and that the king might now take his life if he pleased, but it would be at the risk of his own; whereas, if he pardoned him, he would secure the gratitude of a band of faithful and resolute spirits. Charles pardoned him: nay, more, gave him an estate of £500 a year in Ireland, of which country he was a native, and kept him at court, where he rose to the possession of much influence. He also requested Ormond to pardon him, saying that he had certain reasons for asking it. The duke replied that his majesty's command was a sufficient reason. What are we to infer from all this? Was Charles a coward? or was some one of those who were in his confidence the secret instigator of the attempt on the life of the duke?

The next event was the death of the Duchess of York, which occurred on the 31st of May. She died a Catholic. Her Protestantism had been little better than Romanism: the secret efforts of her husband had had their effect, and she had been reconciled to the Romish church in the preceding month of August. Her father wrote, her brother remonstrated: but their efforts were fruitless, and she received the last sacrament from the hands of a Franciscan friar. Her conversion was known, it is said, to but five persons: but the secret gradually transpired, and caused the religion of the duke to be suspected. She had borne him eight children, of whom two daughters, Mary and Anne, alone survived.

During the last year the young Prince of Orange had come over to visit his royal uncle. Charles, who had really a regard for him, wished to draw him into his projects: but he found him, as the French ambassador remarks, too zealous a Dutchman and Protestant to be trusted with the secret.* It is curious

* Dalrymple, i., 122.

enough, as the prince told Burnet, that the king should have given him to understand that he was himself a Catholic.

The war with the States being decided on, the Cabal prepared to commence it with robbery at home and piracy abroad. To obtain a good supply of money to begin with, the fertile brain of Ashley, it is said (but he always denied it), suggested the closing of the exchequer. To understand this, we must observe that, since the time of Cromwell, the bankers and others had been in the habit of advancing money at eight per cent. to the government, receiving, in return, an assignment of some branch of the revenue, till both principal and interest should be discharged. The new plan was to suspend all payments for twelve months, and to add the interest now due to the capital, allowing six per cent. interest on this new stock.* This was approved of by the privy council, and the public was informed of it by proclamation on the 2d of January, 1672. The consequences were, that the ministers had a sum of £1,300,000 ($6,240,000) at their disposal; many of the bankers failed; trade in general received a severe shock; and numbers of widows, orphans, and other annuitants were reduced to misery.

There had, as yet, been no declaration of war against the Dutch, with whom Charles was actually in alliance: but their Smyrna fleet would be coming up the Channel in March; it was known to be richly laden, and would not, it was supposed, suspect any danger. Holmes was therefore sent to intercept it, and was desired to take with him all the ships-of-war he should meet: but, anxious to have all the glory and profit to himself, he let Sir Edward Sprague's squadron, returning from the Mediterranean, pass him by. The next morning (March 3) the Smyrna fleet, of sixty sail, came in sight. But the States had suspected the

* "This," says Hallam (ii., 526), "was never paid till the latter part of William's reign; it may be considered as the beginning of our national debt." See, however, his note in vol. iii., p. 181.

designs of their royal neighbours, and had put their naval commanders on their guard. Many of these ships were well armed; and Van Nesse, who was convoying them with seven men-of-war, disposed his force so well as completely to baffle the English. Holmes, being re-enforced during the night, renewed the attack the next day, and succeeded in capturing one ship-of-war and four merchantmen, two of which were very valuable. This piratical enterprise (of which the disgrace was aggravated by its failure) was condemned both at home and abroad.

The next measure was to issue a declaration of indulgence (on the 15th), in order to gain over the dissenters to the side of the court, and to pave the way for a general toleration. This measure, which was suggested by Shaftesbury, would have been praiseworthy had it originated in good motives; but it proceeded on the principle of an arbitrary dispensing power in the crown, that might be carried to a dangerous extent. A portion of the dissenters received it with gratitude, and presented an address of thanks to the king: but the orthodox took alarm, and the pulpits resounded with declamation and arguments against popery.

Both kings now formally declared war against the States. Louis merely said that it did not consist with his reputation [or what he called his glory] to put up any longer with insult from them; while Charles enumerated several petty causes of hostility; "and surely," says Hume, "reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty." The King of Sweden, the Bishop of Münster, and the Elector of Cologne were drawn into the confederacy against the States.

While preparations were being made by the States to put their land forces in a condition to resist the troops of France, De Ruyter put to sea with seventy-five men-of-war and a number of fireships, to prevent the junction of the French and English fleets. This, however, he was unable to effect; and the combined fleet, having vainly tried to bring him to action off

Ostend, returned to Southwold Bay. De Ruyter, learning that they were occupied in taking in men and provisions, resolved to fall on them while they were thus engaged. He was near surprising them on the 28th of May; but, though the wind and tide were adverse, the Duke of York, who commanded, got about twenty of his ships in line of battle, being part of the red squadron under himself, and of the blue under the Earl of Sandwich. D'Estrées, with the French fleet, was at the southward, opposed to the ships of Zealand. Though the disparity of numbers was great, the battle was obstinately contested. Sandwich, in the Royal James, took a ship of seventy guns, and killed Admiral Van Ghent; but, his own vessel having been much damaged, a fireship grappled to her larboard side and set her in flames; and the earl and all on board, except two or three hundred, perished. The duke, after his ship, the Prince, had been disabled, shifted his flag to the St. Michael; and, this vessel being crippled also, he finally hoisted it on board the London. In the afternoon the other ships came into the action, and the Dutch finally retired with the loss of three ships. The English lost but one: the French had taken no part in the action.

In the mean time, Louis, at the head of one hundred thousand men, had burst like a flood over the frontiers of Holland. His disciplined legions were directed by the genius of Condé and Turenne, while the Dutch troops were raw levies and badly officered. Fortress after fortress opened its gates, making scarcely a show of resistance. The season happening to be very dry, the rivers were low; the passage of the Rhine, therefore, was effected without difficulty, on the 2d of June, and in the space of three weeks the French monarch had reduced three of the provinces, and was now within three leagues of Amsterdam. Resistance appearing to be nearly hopeless, ambassadors were sent to learn on what terms peace might be obtained. Buckingham, Arlington, and Lord Saville (now Earl of Halifax) were despatched on the part of Charles to Utrecht, where Louis had fixed his

headquarters, and the demands of the two sovereigns were there communicated to the Dutch ministers. Louis required large cessions of forts and territory; seventeen millions of livres; a gold medal every year; the churches in the towns to be shared with the Catholics; and that provision should be made for their clergy. Charles, on his part, demanded the honour of the flag in the narrow seas;* £10,000 a year for the liberty of fishing; a million sterling for the expenses of the war; and the dignity of Stadtholder for the Prince of Orange.

This prince, though only in his twenty-second year, had been made general and admiral of the commonwealth; De Witt, who was his guardian, though hostile to his family, had given him an excellent education; and the character of the prince himself was such as, joined with the remembrance of the services of his family, enabled him to gain the popular favour. The people were clamorous for the repeal of the Perpetual Edict, which had been framed for his exclusion; they rose in arms at Dort on the 30th of June, and then in the other towns, and everywhere established the unlimited authority of the prince. An attempt was made to assassinate John De Witt; and his brother Cornelius being charged by an infamous wretch, named Tichelaer, with an attempt to induce him to poison the prince, was put to the torture. A sentence of banishment was passed on him; and his brother, the pensionary, coming to the prison in his coach to convey him to his place of exile, an infuriated rabble instantly surrounded the prison, burst open the doors, seized the two brothers, despatched them by a multitude of wounds, and offered every species of indignity to their dead bodies. Such is an insensate mob everywhere—brutal, bloody, and unreflecting: against their sudden fury neither private virtue nor the greatest public services are a protection.

The prince, by means of an atrocity which he ab-

* That is, that the Dutch ships should be required to lower their colours in passing the English ships-of-war in the British Channel, North Sea, &c.—*Am. Ed.*

horred, was now left uncontrolled. He urged the people not to despair, but to reject the humiliating conditions offered to them, and resist to the uttermost. Their patriotic ardour revived; the sluices had already been opened, and the heroic resolution was taken to flee, if all should fail, to their settlements in the East, and there found a new empire. When Buckingham urged the prince to abandon the cause of the Provinces, as their ruin was inevitable, "There is one certain means," he replied, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch." The affairs of the Provinces, under the guidance of their young hero, soon assumed a brighter aspect. A combined English and French fleet, with a land-force on board, approached the coast: but winds and tide acted so opportunely to keep them off, that it was regarded as a special interference of Providence. Louis, weary of the toils of war, returned to the pleasures of Versailles, and the French arms became inactive. Spain had sent some forces to the aid of the prince, and the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg were preparing to impede the progress of the French monarch.

Charles, however, adhered firmly to his engagements with Louis; he also gave his own ministers proofs of his satisfaction with their conduct by bestowing honours on them: Buckingham and Arlington received the garter and the latter an earldom; Clifford was made Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Ashley Earl of Shaftesbury. This latter, on the Lord-keeper Bridgeman's hesitating in some affair,* represented him to the king as a mere old dotard; and the seals, with the title of lord-chancellor, were transferred to himself. In his new office he displayed the levity and eccentricity of his character. He rode himself, and made the judges and law-officers ride, in the ancient manner, in procession to Westminster; he sat on the bench in

* Burnet says that Bridgeman resigned rather than put the great seal to the declaration of indulgence: North asserts that the reason of his resigning was his objection to grant an injunction to the creditors of the bankers who were suing them.

"an ash-coloured gown, silver-laced," and prided himself on his despatch of business, making his orders rapidly, and after his own fancy; but so many applications were made to him by counsel for explanations, that it was not long before he became quite tame and humble in his court. Clifford at this time was made lord-treasurer.

It was now nearly two years since parliament had met; and the king, however willing, could no longer dispense with its services, as the only means of obtaining money. When it assembled on the 5th of February, 1673, he addressed it in person. He spoke of the war as just and necessary; as to his declaration of indulgence, at which some cavilled, he told them plainly that he was resolved to adhere to it; he mentioned also the army, which, with their aid, he intended to augment. Shaftesbury then addressed the house. He assured them that the Dutch aimed at an empire as extensive as that of ancient Rome; that they were the eternal enemy of England; that *Delenda est Carthago** was the maxim which should be adopted by the parliament; and that he had no doubt they would be liberal in their supplies.

Though the members were the same, the house was now different from what it had been. The fervour of their loyalty had cooled, and they saw clearly whither the court was tending. Their first care was, therefore, to vindicate their own authority. Ever since 1604, it had been the practice, in case of a vacancy in the house, for the speaker to issue a writ for a new election: but Shaftesbury had taken on him, as chancellor, to issue these writs, and thus to introduce his own dependants into the commons. The legality of these was now disputed, the elections held under them were voted void, and the speaker was directed to issue new writs. As the king made no opposition, Shaftesbury saw plainly that he could not be relied on, and he took his measures accordingly.

The very next day the commons voted a supply of

* *Carthage must be destroyed.*

no less than £1,260,000. They then proceeded to their grand attack on the Declaration of Indulgence, to which Charles had affirmed that he would "stick;" and, after a long and adjourned debate, in spite of all the efforts of the courtiers, it was resolved, on the 10th, by a majority of 168 to 116, that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." An address to this effect was presented to the king on the 14th: he replied to it on the 24th, asserting his ecclesiastical authority, but expressing his willingness to assent to any bill that they might pass for carrying the intents of his declaration into effect. This, however, was voted to be insufficient; and in a second address they assured him that he was mistaken in supposing himself to possess such a power. Charles was indignant at their boldness, and talked of a dissolution; while the duke, Clifford, Shaftesbury, and the more violent, generally applauded his spirit: now was his time or never, they told him; concessions had ruined his father, and would, if made, ruin him. Ormond and Arlington in vain advised him to yield. It was resolved to oppose the lords to the commons. The king therefore solicited the advice of the peers on the 1st of March, when Clifford addressed them with his usual violence: but Shaftesbury remarked that, though his own opinion was in favour of the prerogative, he would not presume to set it against that of the house of commons. The lords resolved on the 4th that the king's was a good and gracious answer. Charles's resolution, however, began now to give way; the French ambassador counselled him to yield for the present; and the women too, it is said, interfered. He sent for the declaration, and in the presence of his ministers broke off the seal, and the next morning assured the two houses that "what had been done should never be drawn into consequence." Acclamations followed, and at night bonfires flamed throughout the city.

A few days after, on the 12th, the Test Act, as it is named, passed the commons. In the lords, the Earl of Bristol, though avowing himself a Catholic, spoke

in favour of it; the king readily assented to it; and, what is most strange of all, it is said to have originated with Arlington. Its object was to exclude the Catholics from places of honour and profit. It required that every person holding any office of trust or profit should, besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, receive the sacrament according to the Church of England, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. Immediately the Duke of York waited on the king, and with tears resigned to him all his commissions: his example was followed by Lord Clifford, Lord Bellasis, and others.

It is remarkable, that the dissenters actually supported this bill, which excluded themselves as completely as the papists: but they willingly joined to oppose the common enemy; and, in return, a bill for their relief was passed and sent up to the lords on the 17th. Here, however, it received amendments to which the commons would not agree; Sheldon and his party too, it is said, exerted themselves to defeat it; and a sudden prorogation on the 29th put an end to it, so that the patriotic disinterestedness of the dissenters was but poorly rewarded.

As the parliament had furnished the means, a fleet was got to sea under Prince Rupert. Combined with that of D'Estrées, it sailed over to the coast of Holland, where, on the 28th of May, De Ruyter gave it battle. The action was indecisive; and the fleets again encountered on the 4th of June, with a similar result. An attempt to land an army, under Count Schomberg, on the coast of Holland also failed. The duke's party threw all the blame on the prince, as being too closely connected with the country-party to act with energy; while the prince, in return, complained that his powers were limited, and his ships ill supplied. The mouth of the Texel witnessed, on the 11th of August, the last naval encounter which took place for many years between the Dutch and English. It was fought with great obstinacy (the French squadron, as usual, merely looking on). Sir Edward Spragge, the second in command, was drowned as he was quit-

ting the second ship in which he had hoisted his flag, in order to raise it in the third. In this action, also, the victory was doubtful.

The reduction of Maestricht was the only advantage gained by Louis this year. The Prince of Orange besieged and took Naerden; and he afterward eluded the French generals, and formed a junction with the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, who were besieging Bonn. The surrender of that town and some other places gave them the command of the electorate of Cologne, and the French troops in the Provinces were thus cut off from communication with their own country. A congress for peace was in the mean time sitting at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden: but the States, now backed by the house of Austria, spurned at the conditions offered by the allied monarchs.

The first question that engaged the attention of parliament, when it reassembled in the latter end of October, was the marriage of the Duke of York, who had lately espoused, by proxy, Maria D'Este, sister to the Duke of Modena, a princess only fifteen years of age, and a Catholic. They addressed the king, praying him not to allow the marriage to be consummated. Charles pleaded his honour. They forthwith passed a vote refusing supplies, imposing a severer test, etc.; and on the 4th of November the king came to the house of lords and prorogued the parliament. As he considered that Shaftesbury had been false, on the 9th he took the great seal from him, and committed it to Sir Heneage Finch. Sir Thomas Osborne (now Lord Latimer) had obtained the white staff resigned by Clifford. Shaftesbury now assumed the character of a patriot, and became the secret leader of the opposition.

When the parliament met on the 7th of January, 1674, the king addressed them with his usual affability; and the lord-keeper followed in a long speech, the object of which was to obtain an immediate supply. The commons first passed an address, praying the king to enjoin a public fast, that the nation might

implore Heaven to preserve "the church and state against the undermining practices of popish recusants," and to adopt certain measures of precaution against them; they then voted the removal from office of persons "popishly inclined, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous;" and, following up this decision, they proceeded to assail the individual members of the Cabal.

The first attacked was the Duke of Lauderdale. He was charged with having raised an army in Scotland, to be employed in setting up arbitrary power in England, and with having said to the king in council, "Your majesty's edicts are equal with the laws, and ought to be observed in the first place." It was resolved to petition the king to dismiss him from his employments, and from the royal presence and councils for ever. Buckingham, aware that his own turn would come next, asked leave to address the house. His defence was feeble. His chief object was to shift the blame from himself to Arlington: but one expression which he used seemed to aim higher. "Hunting," he said, "is a good diversion; but if a man will hunt with a brace of lobsters, he will have but ill sport." An address was forthwith voted to ask his removal from the royal presence and councils. Arlington came off the best: he likewise defended himself before the commons, and with more spirit than was expected; and the motion for a petition against him was lost.

All this time the commons were silent on the subject of a supply; and the States just then making, through the Spanish ambassador, an offer of peace, which Charles, with the advice of both houses, resolved to accept, Sir W. Temple was appointed to negotiate; and on the 19th of February, after three days' discussion, the affair was brought to a conclusion. The honour of the flag was yielded to England; colonial and commercial questions were to be settled by arbitration; and the Dutch agreed to pay 800,000 crowns in four annual instalments. On the 24th the parliament was prorogued.

Two farther attempts at weakening the influence of the duke were made: the one in the commons, by proposing a more comprehensive test; the other in the lords, by amending a bill brought in for restraining popery. This last was lost, and the prorogation defeated the other. The duke took alarm, and his first plan was for a dissolution: but to that course the king was very averse, nor was the result of it at all certain. He then bent his thoughts to postpone the meeting of parliament: but, to do this, it was indispensable that the king should be supplied with money. Fortunately for him, Louis XIV. was as anxious as himself to keep the king and parliament apart, fearing that England might now join the confederacy against him. The duke therefore proposed that Louis should advance the king £400,000; the usual chaffering took place, and Charles was finally obliged to be content with 500,000 crowns. The parliament was then prorogued from November till the April of the following year.

The advantages of the campaign this year were on the side of France. Louis recovered Franche Comté; Turenne was also successful against the Imperialists in Alsace, and forced the allies to repass the Rhine. The Prince of Orange, who was opposed to Condé in Flanders, resolved, as his troops were superior in number, to make an attempt to penetrate into France. Condé avoided fighting; but, at a place named Seneffe, observing that the prince had left one wing of his army exposed, he made a furious attack on it. A general action ensued, which, when the day was gone, was kept up by the light of the moon. The loss was nearly equal, and each side claimed the victory. "The Prince of Orange," said Condé, "has acted in everything like an old captain, except venturing his life like a young soldier." The campaign concluded by the taking of Grave by the Dutch prince.

Of the persons who had been accused by the commons, Buckingham alone was abandoned by the king; and he forthwith, as a matter of course, joined Shaftesbury and the opposition. Arlington, who saw his in-

fluence declining before that of the treasurer (now Earl of Danby), sold, by the royal command, his place of secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson for £6000, and was raised to the higher but less influential post of lord-chamberlain. To prop his falling power, he proposed to the king to negotiate a match between the Prince of Orange and Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York. As the prince was well known to be a stanch Protestant, this measure, he said, would eminently serve to allay the apprehensions of the nation on the subject of religion, and be, in fact, advantageous in many respects. The king warmly approved of the project; the objections of the Duke of York were overruled; and, in the beginning of the winter, Lord Arlington and Lord Ossory, who were married to two sisters of a noble Dutch family, went over to the Hague under the pretence of visiting their wives' relations. The proposition, however, when made to the prince by Lord Ossory, was coldly received: he stated that, as circumstances were at present, he was not in a condition to think of taking a wife. After a short stay the envoys returned to England.

During the winter, the court and country parties were busily engaged in maturing their plans for the ensuing campaign in parliament. In the lords the crown had a decided majority: still the minority, headed by Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, was formidable from its talent and union. The country party was strong in the commons, where it possessed Lord William Russell, esteemed for his probity and integrity; Lord Cavendish, less correct in morals, but far superior in ability; Sir William Coventry, deeply skilled in affairs, and free from passion and private resentments; Powle, or Powell, learned in precedents and parliamentary usages; Littleton, the ablest of all in debate; Birch, rough and bold, and powerful above all men of the day in swaying a popular assembly;* and the veteran senators

* He had been originally a carrier. In the Civil War he rose to the rank of colonel. He was concerned in the excise, which he was found to understand so well, that he obtained a good post

Lee and Garroway, together with Vaughan, Sacheverell, and many other able debaters. Their plan was to urge the king to join the allies against France; to impeach the Earl of Danby; and to refuse the supplies while he remained in office.

The scheme of the court was to unite with the church, and thus deprive their opponents of the advantage which they derived from appearing as the champions of religion. A council was held at Lambeth, at which several prelates attended. They were assured of the king's attachment to the church, and called upon to give him their support; measures were devised for crushing popery, and a severe proclamation against recusants and nonconformists was forthwith issued. The Duke of York remonstrated in vain; and, in contempt of his parental authority, the princesses Mary and Anne were led to church by their preceptor Compton, bishop of London, and confirmed.

When parliament met on the 13th of April, 1675, the address against Lauderdale, of which the king had taken no notice, was renewed, but still without effect. Seven articles of impeachment were then exhibited against the Earl of Danby. He had, however, like his predecessors,* made large purchases of votes in the house, but on a more economical plan, we are told; for, while they had bought leading men at high prices, he looked out only for those who had their votes to sell, and who were consequently prepared to

at the Restoration. When Sir Edward Seymour once reflected on his original profession, he calmly replied that it was true he had been a carrier, and he had no doubt that, if that worthy gentleman had ever been one, he would have been the same still. He made a similar reply to Mr. Coventry. Charles II., when offended with him, having said that he remembered Forty-one, Birch boldly made answer that *he* remembered Forty-eight. See Burnet, ii., 82, and *note*.

* "Clifford," says Hallam (ii., 537), "and still more Danby, were masters in an art practised by ministers from the time of James I. (and which, indeed, can never be unknown where there exists a court and popular assembly), that of turning to their own use the weapons of mercenary eloquence by office, or blunting their edge by bribery."

dispose of them more cheaply.* The articles were consequently all thrown out. The principal attempt of the ministers was made in the lords, where a bill for a new test was introduced. By this, every member of either house, and all persons holding office, were required to swear that it is unlawful, under any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king; that it is traitorous to take up arms under the king's authority against his person; and that they would not engage in any attempt to change the government, either in church or state. The debate on this bill lasted seventeen days, during which the king occupied his usual place at the fireside; but Shaftesbury and the other opponents of the measure, heedless of his presence, employed all their eloquence and powers of reasoning against it. It was eventually carried by a majority of only two. Had it come down to the commons, it would probably have been rejected by a much larger majority; but a question of privilege happening just then to arise between the two houses, the king took advantage of it to prorogue the parliament on the 9th of June.

When parliament again met on the 13th of October, the king asked money for the navy, and also a sum of £800,000 which had been borrowed on the revenue. This last was refused, but a sum of £300,000 was voted for the building of twenty ships-of-war, to which it was scrupulously appropriated. The contest with the lords was now renewed; and such was the heat with which it was carried on, that it was even moved in the lords to request the king to dissolve the parliament. This was opposed by the ministers, but supported by the Duke of York and his friends. A prorogation for the long period of fifteen months was finally determined on; and for this Charles received 500,000 crowns from the King of France.

The campaign of 1675 was favourable to the allies. Condé's army in Flanders was rendered inactive by the able conduct of the Prince of Orange; and Tu-

* This parliament, from its notorious corruption, received the name of the *pensioned Parliament.—Am. Ed.*

renne having been killed by a random shot, while commanding beyond the Rhine, his army was obliged to repass that river, and was followed by the Imperialists into Alsace. The allies having laid siege to Treves, Marshal Crequi advanced to its relief: but at Consabrie he was attacked and routed; and the garrison of Treves, whither he had escaped, having mutinied, capitulated and delivered him into the hands of the allies. The King of England, after concluding a peace with the States, offered his mediation to the other powers. Though from various causes they were all, except the Dutch, desirous of continuing the war, they could not decently reject the proposal of the British monarch. The place fixed on for the congress was Nimeguen, whither the Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins repaired as the English ministers. After many delays, the congress met in the summer of this year; but, as was to have been expected, the ministers were more anxious to raise difficulties than to remove them. The great object of the allies was to prevail on Charles to join them against France: but to this course he had many objections, of which not the least was the state of dependance on his parliament to which it would reduce him. Louis took advantage of this feeling; and his ambassador Ruvigni received instructions to offer the same amount of pension as before for his neutrality. An agreement was made between Charles and Ruvigni for a pension of £100,000 a year to be paid to the former: in return for which he was to sign a treaty, by which the two monarchs were to bind themselves to enter into no engagements but by mutual consent, and to aid each other in case of any rebellion in their respective dominions. This was communicated to none except the Duke of York, Lauderdale, and Danby. The two former approved of it, of course; but Danby hesitated, and advised to consult the privy council: the king, however, removed all difficulty by writing out the treaty with his own hand, and setting his private seal to it on the 17th of February, 1676. He then delivered it to Ruvigni, who forthwith set

out for Paris in order to have it signed by Louis. It would be difficult, in all history, to find a more disgraceful transaction than this barter of honour and independence for lucre by the sovereign of a great and powerful nation.

Charles, enjoying the pension, the price of his dishonour, lived on indolently till the time came for the meeting of parliament, February 5th, 1677. The opposition had discovered what they regarded as a vantage-point against the court. There were two statutes of Edward III. which ordained that a parliament should be held "once a year, or oftener, if need be;" and, as fifteen months had elapsed since the last meeting, the parliament, they asserted, had in fact ceased to exist. This view was maintained with much boldness and ingenuity in the lords by Buckingham, supported by Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; but Finch (now lord-chancellor and Earl of Nottingham) showed, in opposition to them, that the triennial act of the 16th of the late king, and the act of the present king repealing that act, had extended the term to three years. Buckingham's motion was therefore negatived by a large majority; the four lords were also required to acknowledge that their conduct had been "ill-advised," and to beg pardon of the king and the house; and, on their refusal, they were committed to the Tower.*

In consequence, it is said, of the bribes which he liberally bestowed, the minister had a majority on finance questions in the commons. Money, therefore, was granted for the navy: but it was specifically appropriated, and none of it came into the treasury, so that the king had still need of his foreign pension. The parliament now began to urge him to war: for Louis had entered Flanders at the head of a large army, taken Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, and

* They remained there till the meeting of parliament in the following year, when they took their seats with the others, merely asking pardon. Shaftesbury, who had procured himself to be brought before the Court of King's Bench by *Habeas Corpus*, was obliged to ask pardon for it on his knees.

defeated the Prince of Orange at Cassel. The king, in order to do so, demanded an additional £600,000, pledging his royal word* not to break his faith with them, nor to employ the money for any other purposes but those for which it was granted. But the commons knew him too well to trust him. They voted an address on the 25th of May, praying him to enter into an alliance with the States-General and other powers for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. Charles affected great anger at this, as an encroachment on his prerogative; and he commanded both houses to adjourn till July. The court of France was still uneasy; and its envoy, Courtin, was urgent for a dissolution, or at least a prorogation till the following April. For this service Charles demanded an addition of £10,000 a year to his pension. The usual bargaining took place: but the French were finally obliged to come into his terms, and also to consent that the increased pension should be reckoned from the commencement of the current year. The parliament was therefore prorogued from July to December, with a promise to Courtin that, if the money was regularly paid, it should then be farther adjourned to April. What Englishman can refrain from blushing at this disgraceful affair? Yet Charles, though the highest, was not the only criminal at this time: Courtin bribed also sundry members of the parliament to forward the views of the two monarchs.†

The Prince of Orange had long looked forward to a union with his cousin, the Princess Mary: but the opposition party in England, who feared that this match might unite him more closely with his uncles,

* Hume, having noticed the secret treaty with Louis which Charles had signed, calls his pledging his word on the present occasion "one of the most dishonourable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne." Lingard most strangely says, that the reason given by Hume is "because he was then negotiating for money with the French ambassador," and on this ground attempts to defend Charles. He has either misread or misrepresented Hume.

† Dalrymple, i., 182.

had endeavoured to divert him from it. Now, however, seeing the necessity of an effort to induce the King of England to aid in checking the career of the French monarch, he resolved to seek the hand of the princess. We must not be so unjust to the memory of this great prince as to suppose him actuated solely by political motives in this proceeding. On the contrary, in the spring of the preceding year he had held a serious conversation on the subject with Sir W. Temple, in which he stated that, situated as he was, he knew he must marry some time or another: but still, that no considerations of political expediency should induce him to marry a woman with whom he could not look forward to a reasonable prospect of domestic happiness; and he begged that Temple would give him his candid opinion respecting the princess. The ambassador urged him to the marriage, and made so favourable a report of the Lady Mary, that the prince wrote to his uncles on the subject, and requested permission to come over respecting it at the end of the campaign. These letters were brought to England by Lady Temple.

The prince does not appear to have taken any farther steps till the present year, when, having obtained the king's permission,* he set out at the end of the campaign, and, landing at Harwich on the 9th of October, proceeded to Newmarket, where his uncles then were. He was very kindly received by the king, to whose surprise, however, he seemed disinclined to enter on any discourse concerning business. Charles desired Sir W. Temple to endeavour to find out the cause; and the prince told him that he was resolved to see the princess before he proceeded any farther, and also to settle the affair of his marriage previously to entering on that of the peace. The king, when informed of this, very kindly left Newmarket sooner than usual; and the prince, on seeing the Lady Mary in London, was so pleased with her,

* Danby wrote to him, by the king's order, to come over. Burnet, ii., 120, *note*.

that he made his proposals at once to her father and uncle, by whom they were well received: but they insisted that the terms of the peace must be previously settled. The prince, however, would not give way on this point: he said that "his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost; and, for his part, he would never sell his honour for a wife." The king was equally obstinate on his part; and Temple and Danby, who were both zealous for the match, were beginning to despair; the prince declaring, in the mean time, that he would remain but two days longer in England, a resolution which he desired Temple to communicate to the king. On doing so, Temple represented to Charles the evil consequences of a breach between him and the prince. Charles listened to him attentively. "Well," said he, "I never was yet deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks; and, if I am not deceived in the prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife; and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolved on." The duke, when Temple waited on him, seemed surprised, but declared his readiness to obey the king. Danby, when informed by Temple, undertook to adjust the remaining points; and that evening the match was declared in the committee, and next day in the council. The king's mode of announcing his intention to the prince was characteristic: "Nephew," said he, "it is not good for man to be alone; I will give you a help meet for you:" he then added that he would give him his niece. On the 4th of November this auspicious marriage was solemnized by the Bishop of London.

The king, the duke, the prince, and Danby and Temple now took into consideration the question of peace. The prince, convinced that Louis would never abstain from war, insisted on a strong frontier on both sides of Flanders; the king was of opinion that Louis was weary of war, and would devote himself to ease

and pleasure; but Temple thought with the prince. They were, however, obliged to give way a little, and it was agreed that Louis should resign all his conquests from the empire, and restore Lorraine to its duke; that France and Holland should mutually give back the places they had taken; but that Louis should retain all his conquests in Flanders, except Aeth, Charleroi, Oudernarde, Courtrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes, which would form a frontier between the French dominions and the United Provinces. The Lord Duras, a Frenchman, and attached to the duke (now created Earl of Feversham*), was sent over to Paris with this treaty. He was to demand a positive answer in two days: but pretexts were devised for detaining him; and, in the mean time, the prince was obliged to return to the Continent. Louis was, in fact, highly indignant at the marriage of the Princess Mary. Charles excused himself to Barillon, the ambassador, by saying, "I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother;" and the truth was, that he could not get any minister to join cordially in his projects of union with Louis. This monarch seemed resolved to listen to no terms but such as he should himself dictate; and, though the winter had commenced, his army forthwith took the field, and invested Guislain. Charles then, on the 3d of December, appointed the parliament to meet on the 15th of January; on the 17th Louis stopped the payment of his pension, offering, at the same time, if he would consent to his retention of Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai, to send him the value of them in bars of gold, concealed in silk; and Danby was promised, if he would employ his influence, any reward he should name in diamonds and pearls. Danby, however, was not to be bought; the king and duke were dissatisfied also with Louis; and the duke looked forward to the command of an army, and the acquisition of military fame. It is probable, too, that the royal brothers

* He was brother to the Duke of Buillon and to the great Turenne, and a Protestant.

thought their schemes of arbitrary power would be more readily accomplished by means of a native army than through the insidious aid of Louis.

When the parliament met on the 28th of January, 1678, Charles informed them that he had concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the States for the protection of Flanders; and that he should require a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of from thirty to forty thousand men. After a good deal of opposition, on the 5th of February a supply for that purpose was voted. The king, however, was still desirous of peace: but the success of Louis, who had now reduced Ypres and Ghent, exasperated the English nation; and the commons hastened to pass a bill for a part of the supply. Charles forthwith sent a body of three thousand men to the defence of Ostend, and issued money for raising twenty thousand more, to be accomplished within six weeks.

The troops, when raised, were, as King James assures us, "as good as were anywhere to be seen." The commons, who, according to the same prince, "were in reality more jealous of the king's power than of the power of France," took alarm, and passed a resolution on the 29th of April not to grant any more supplies till full satisfaction should be given on the subject of religion. Charles, enraged at this disappointment, forthwith prorogued parliament, and commenced negotiations with Louis, with whom he subscribed a secret treaty on the 17th of May, engaging, in case the States would not accept the terms offered at Nimeguen, to withdraw his troops from the Continent, for which he was to receive from Louis £450,000, in four quarterly payments. When parliament met on the 23d, an address was voted that war should be declared or the army disbanded. The king's reply was evasive; and the commons resolved, on the 4th of June, that all the forces raised within the last seven months "ought to be paid off and disbanded forthwith," and appropriated money for the purpose. The king, however, was not willing to part with his army. Urged by the Duke of York, the

council resolved to enter on the war; and a corps of four thousand men was sent over to Flanders, while four thousand more, to be commanded by the duke, were in readiness for embarcation. At the same time, a new treaty was to be concluded with the States, unless Louis should abandon some pretensions which he had lately made in favour of Sweden.

Louis knew as well when to recede as to advance. For two weeks his ministers employed all the resources of diplomatic tactics against those of the States; then, when all men looked for a renewal of the war, on the 31st of July he suddenly yielded, and peace between France and the States was signed the same day, before midnight. Four days after, the Prince of Orange attacked the French army at St. Denis, near Mons, which town they were besieging; and, as it is scarcely possible that he should have been ignorant of the actual signature of the treaty of Nimeguen, the blood of the five thousand men who were slain in the action may be said to rest on his head. He probably hoped that a victory would prevent the ratification of the treaty, to which he was strongly opposed.

Spain and the emperor found it necessary to agree to the Peace of Nimeguen, which left to Louis a large proportion of his conquests, and put it in his power to renew the war whenever he pleased with every advantage.

It is not to be denied that the opposition in parliament this year played the game of the King of France, thwarting all the efforts of Temple and Danby to urge the king into a war that was equally for the honour and interest of England. It is also well known that the lords Hollis and Russell, and the other leaders of the country party, were in actual communication with Barillon and Ruvigni, and arranged with them the plan of operations in parliament. These are points which demand, however, some inquiry and explanation.

The country party had a violent distrust of the king, who, they knew, was bent on making himself absolute, and perhaps on changing the religion of the

nation; they also knew that he looked to the money or the arms of Louis to aid him in accomplishing his designs: it was therefore their object to deprive him of this support; and they probably thought that a few fortresses in Flanders were not to be put in the balance against the British constitution. On the other hand, Louis acted on the usual maxims of state policy, and wished to see his neighbours weak rather than strong: he had, therefore, no vehement desire that Charles should be absolute or the nation Catholic; and was, of course, as little desirous of beholding a republic in England. What he wanted was jealousy and disunion between the king and the people, so that he might be able to play the two parties against each other, and thus be secured against interruption from England in his project of extending the frontiers of France to the Rhine, and establishing a dictatorship over the rest of Europe. For this purpose he had, in the beginning of Charles's reign, kept up a communication with the commonwealth-men; and then, seeing a prospect of his becoming his stipendiary and vassal, he entered into close relations with him: but the marriage of the Princess Mary having shown that no reliance could be placed on him, he resolved to try to form a connexion with the popular leaders. For this purpose, Ruvigni, who was a Protestant, and first-cousin to Lady Russell, came over to London in the month of March; and he took occasion to assure Russell and Hollis that his master did not at all conceive it to be for his interest that the king should be absolute, and that he was ready to aid in causing a dissolution of the parliament. They agreed, on their side, to take care that the grants of supplies should be clogged with such conditions that the king would prefer a reunion with France to accepting them. Ruvigni offered also to spend a considerable sum in the purchase of members' votes; and begged of Russell to name those who might be thus gained over. He replied, that he should be sorry to have to do with people who could be bought; and at the same time gave it as his opinion, that there was no chance of a

dissolution but through the King of France, whose aid for that purpose Ruvigni freely promised. Nothing could, in fact, exceed the straits in which the popular party then were. They knew that, if the king could get an army devoted to him, he would destroy their liberties; they were dubious of the King of France, and yet he alone could aid them: under these circumstances, we shall the less wonder at their falling into a course of tortuous policy, which was in itself morally wrong. That nothing, however, injurious to the country and constitution was intended, the names of Russell and Hollis are a sufficient warrant.*

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1678–1680.

Popish Plot.—Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.—The Plot.—Impeachment of Danby.—Parliament Dissolved.—Trials.—New Parliament.—Trials.—Persecution in Scotland.—Murder of Archbishop Sharp.—Battle of Bothwell Bridge.—Efforts of Shaftesbury.—Meal-tub Plot.—Bill of Exclusion.—Trial and Execution of Lord Strafford.

THE kingdom was now at peace, but the army was still on foot. The country party were dejected, and began to think that farther resistance to the court was hopeless. In this state of things, during the recess of parliament, the Popish Plot, as it was called, came to fill the nation with alarm.

On the 12th of August, as the king was walking in the Park, a person named Kirby, who used to assist him in his chymical laboratory, came up to him and said, "Sir, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot

* See Appendix (M).

within this very walk." On being questioned, he said that two men, named Grove and Pickering, had undertaken to shoot him, and Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. He gave as his authority one Dr. Tonge, rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street. This Tonge was a weak, credulous man, and a great alarmist on the subject of popery, against which he published tracts every year. In the evening Tonge was brought to the king, to whom he showed a written narrative of the plot, divided into forty-three heads. He was sent to Lord Danby. The story which he here told was, that the narrative had been thrust under his door; that he knew not the author, but had a clew which might enable him to discover him. In a few days he returned, and said he had met the author in the street, who had given him a fuller account, but required that his name should be concealed for fear of the papists. As Danby insisted on seeing some of the papers mentioned in the narrative, after some delay and evasion he was told, that on a certain day a packet of letters, addressed to Bedingfield, a Jesuit, the duke's confessor, would arrive at the postoffice at Windsor. Danby hastened down to intercept them: but they had already come to hand; and Bedingfield, seeing that they were not the writing of those whose names they bore, and that they contained suspicious matter, showed them to the duke, who took them to the king. Charles at once recognised in the writing a similarity to that of the narrative, and expressed his belief of their being forgeries.

After some days, the person from whom Tonge professed to have derived his information came forward. This was a man named Titus Oates, son to a weaver, who, having become an Anabaptist preacher, and been chaplain to Colonel Pride, had, after the Restoration, obtained orders in the Established Church. He sent his son Titus to Cambridge, where, after finishing his studies, he took orders and became a curate; but, being indicted for perjury on some occasion, he left his cure and entered the navy as a chaplain. Here, however, he was charged with an odious offence, and

was obliged to quit his ship. He then managed to be appointed as one of the Duke of Norfolk's chaplains, where, meeting with many Romish priests, he became a real or pretended convert to their faith. He was sent over to St. Omer's, and thence to Spain, whence he had just returned to England. He had long been acquainted with Tonge, by whom and Kirby he was now chiefly supported.

At the urgent desire of the duke to have the matter sifted to the bottom, the king consented to have Oates examined before the council. Previously to appearing there, Oates went before a magistrate named Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, and made oath to the truth of the narrative, which was now extended to eighty-one articles. He appeared before the council on the 28th in a new suit of clothes and a clergyman's gown, and deposed to the following effect.

The Jesuits had resolved by all means to re-establish the Catholic religion in the British dominions; they were organizing a rebellion and massacre in Ireland; in Scotland, disguised as Presbyterian ministers, they were opposing Episcopacy; here they proposed to assassinate the king, and then to offer the crown to the duke, provided he would consent to hold it of the pope, and aid in extirpating Protestantism: if not, *To pot James must go*, was their expression. They had abundant funds, having £100,000 in bank, £60,000 a year in rents, etc. Father Leshee [La Chaise], the French king's confessor, had given them £10,000, and they were promised an equal sum from Spain. In March last, two men, named Honest William [Gove] and Pickering (the latter a lay-brother of the order), were several times directed to shoot the king with silver bullets at Windsor, for which the former was to have £1500, the latter 30,000 masses; and on their neglecting to do so, William had been reprimanded, and Pickering had received twenty lashes on his bare back. On the 24th of April there had been a great meeting of the Jesuits at the White-Horse tavern, by St. Clement's in the Strand, to deliberate on the assassination of the king; and two Benedic-

tines, named Coniers and Anderton, and four Irishmen, whose names he did not know, were added to the former two; £10,000, and afterward £15,000, had been offered to Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison the king, and he had reason to believe he had undertaken it. He had also learned, since his return, that the Jesuits had caused the fire in 1666, on which occasion they had employed seven hundred fire-balls; and they would at that time have murdered the king, but that they relented when they witnessed his zeal and humanity. They had secured, amid the conflagration, diamonds to the value of £14,000; ten years after they had made £2000 by setting fire to Southwark, and they now had a plan for burning Westminster, Wapping, and the shipping. Finally, the pope had lately issued a bull, appointing to all the dignities in the Church of England, as the Catholic religion was sure to triumph the moment the king was taken out of the way.

The next morning, the 29th, Oates was again brought before the council. It being objected to the Windsor letters that they were in feigned hands, badly spelled, and without any punctuation, he said that such was the practice of the Jesuits, that they might say they were forgeries if they should be discovered, but that their correspondents knew the secret. Having told that he had been introduced to Don John at Madrid, he was requested to describe him. He said he was a tall, thin, dark man. But the king, who had often seen him, knew that he was short, fat, and fair. He was also asked where he saw Father La Chaise pay the money; he replied, "In the Jesuits' house close to the palace." "Man," cried the king, "the Jesuits have no house within a mile of the Louvre."

It is to be observed, that though Oates, by his own account, had feigned to be a convert, with the sole purpose of discovering the secrets of the Jesuits and betraying them; and though, as he said, he was so high in their confidence that numerons documents had been put into his hands, he had, nevertheless, re-

tained not a single one of them, and there was nothing except his bare assertion for the truth of the incredible things which he related. His only chance, therefore, was, that something confirmatory might be found among the papers of those who were committed on his information; and here fortune stood his friend.

Among those named by Oates was Coleman, the secretary of the Duchess of York. Coleman, who was the son of a Protestant clergyman, had become a Catholic. This naturally gained him the favour of the Duke of York; and, with the usual zeal of a convert, he exerted himself to the utmost for the advancement of his new creed. For this and for other purposes he was in correspondence with La Chaise, and his successor in office, St. Germain. When, therefore, he heard of his danger, he put all his papers out of the way: but he unluckily forgot a drawer containing his correspondence in 1674 and the two following years, which was found. In one of these letters he says, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this Northern world. There were never such hopes of success, since the days of our Queen Mary, as now in our days. God has given us a prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can." Elsewhere he says, "I can scarce believe myself awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince, in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and piety as not to regard anything in the world in comparison of God Almighty's glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom." In other places he speaks of the interests of the crown of England being inseparable from those of France and the Catholic religion; and he describes the king as inclined to favour the Catholics, but, at the same time, as being thoroughly venal.

When we consider this language of Coleman, and add to it the other proofs which we possess, we think we may venture to say that the following assertion of Hallam is perfectly correct: "There was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal; but one alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established Protestant religion in England. In this plot the king, the Duke of York, and the King of France were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators."*

The mysterious disappearance of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey next occurred to increase the public alarm. Godfrey, as we have seen, was the magistrate who had taken Oates's deposition. Though a zealous Protestant, he was on good terms with the Catholics, particularly Coleman, whom he had warned of his danger. He seems to have had an idea that some mischief would befall him on account of this business: for Dr. Lloyd, the rector of his parish, heard him say, "I am told I shall be knocked on the head;" and he said the same to Dr. Burnet. To a gentleman who asked him if he had any hand in taking the informations touching the plot, he replied in the affirmative, adding, "I know not what will be the consequence of them, but I believe I shall be the first martyr." To another he said, "I must not talk much, for I lie under ill circumstances. Some great men blame me for not having done my duty, and I am threatened by others, and very great ones too, for having done too much."

On Saturday morning, the 12th of October, Godfrey left his house at an early hour, and went to different parts of the city. He was met in St. Martin's-lane by persons, of whom he inquired the way to Paddington Woods; and he was seen by others in Soho and Marylebone Fields. He was in the Strand at one o'clock, and was afterward seen in Lincoln's-Inn

* Const. Hist., ii., 570.

Fields; and a person, supposed to have been him, was seen in Red-Lion Fields, on the way to Primrose Hill, and finally in a field near that hill.

His protracted absence from home (for he did not return) caused great uneasiness to his family and friends, and various conjectures were made to account for it. Some thought he had absconded to avoid his creditors; others gave out that he had married, and "that not very decently," and had run away with his wife; but the report most credited was, that he had been murdered by the papists. For some days no account could be got of him: but on Thursday evening, the 17th, as two men were going towards the White-Horse at Primrose Hill, they saw a cane and pair of gloves lying on a bank by a ditch; and, on searching farther, they found in the ditch the dead body of a man, with a sword run through him. His rings were on his fingers, and his money was in his pocket. There was a double crease round his neck, which was so limber that the face might be turned round to the shoulder. The body was at once recognised to be that of the missing justice. A coroner's jury, swayed by the opinions of two ignorant surgeons, brought in a verdict that he had been strangled; and it was supposed that the assassins had run his own sword through him, that he might be supposed to have killed himself. That the papists had done the deed was a point about which few had any doubt; and those who had, thought it most prudent to confine their suspicions to their own bosoms.

The plain truth, however, appears to have been, that in this instance the unfortunate papists were perfectly innocent, and that Godfrey died by his own hand.* There was an hereditary melancholy in his family; and for some days before his disappearance a strangeness in his manner and behaviour had been observed. The apprehension of being brought into

* Hallam inclines to the opinion that Godfrey was murdered; but concludes by saying, "His death remains at this moment a problem for which no tolerably satisfactory solution can be offered."—*Am. Ed.*

some trouble on account of having taken the deposition of Oates probably led to the catastrophe. As by the law the property of a *Felo de se* was forfeit to the crown, it was the interest of his brothers to have it believed that he had been murdered. The report, laying the guilt on the papists, was accordingly traced to them; they had kept back important evidence, and had dealt with the coroner and surgeons. It is, however, not to be supposed that they foresaw the judicial murders that were to ensue.*

When parliament met on the 21st, the ferment was great. The king's usual application for money was neglected: but an address was voted, praying him to appoint a solemn day of fasting and humiliation, to implore the Divine protection for himself and his loyal subjects. A second petition followed, for the removal of all popish recusants from London and its vicinity, and proclamations were made accordingly. Committees, with extensive powers, were appointed to search out the plot. The country party, animated and directed by Shaftesbury, became now omnipotent in both houses. Full credit was given to everything that Oates asserted; and he now added that the pope, treating England as his kingdom, had appointed to all the great offices, civil and military: Lord Arundel was to be chancellor, Lord Powis treasurer, Lord Bellasis commander-in-chief, with Lord Petre for his lieutenant, Sir Francis Radcliffe his major, and Lambert his adjutant-general; Lord Stafford was to be paymaster-general, Sir W. Godolphin privy-seal, and Coleman secretary of state. Similar arrangements, he said, were made for Ireland. Some of those named were, it was well known, disabled by age, and others by infirmity; but these objections were unheeded; warrants were issued against them all, and the lords Arundel, Powis, Stafford, Petre, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower.† Both houses finally passed

* See L'Estrange's "Brief History of the Times," etc., part iii., where all the depositions are given.

† No one can give credit to Oates, yet the following passage in Burnet (ii., 159) is curious. It is not to be supposed that either

a resolution on the 31st, that "there had been, and still was, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion."

On the last day of the month the funeral of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey took place, at St. Martin's-in-the-fields. Seventy-two of the London clergy, in their gowns, walked two and two before the coffin, and it was followed in the same order by more than one thousand gentlemen in mourning, of whom many were members of parliament. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Lloyd, the rector, and at each side of him stood a tall, athletic clergyman for his protection. His text was, "As a man falleth before the wicked, so fellest thou;" and he endeavoured to show that Godfrey had been murdered by the Catholics on account of his zeal in discharging the duties of his office.

Oates was now styled "The Saviour of his Country," and he had lodgings assigned him at Whitehall, with a pension of £1200. No one ventured to call the truth of the plot in question. Every precaution was adopted against the rising of the Catholics which he had announced: the train-bands were constantly on duty, the guards were doubled at the palace, and the city put up its posts and chains, in order to be prepared for defence.*

he or Tillotson was capable of inventing a wilful falsehood. "Tillotson," says he, "told me that Langhorn's wife, who was still as zealous a Protestant as he was a papist, came oft to him and gave him notice of everything she could discover among them, though she continued a faithful and dutiful wife to the last minute of her husband's life. Upon the first breaking out of the plot, before Oates had spoken a word of commissions or had accused Langhorn, she engaged her son in some discourse upon those matters, who was a hot, indiscreet papist. He said their designs were so well laid that it was impossible they should miscarry, and that his father would be one of the greatest men in England, for he had seen a commission from the pope constituting him advocate-general. This he told me in Stillingfleet's hearing."

* If North may be believed (Examen, p. 206), Sir Thomas Player, the city chamberlain, said to the citizens that "he did

A reward of £500 having been offered for the murderer of Godfrey, a letter came the day after the funeral to the secretary of state, dated from Newbury, requesting that William Bedloe, the writer of it, might be arrested at Bristol and conveyed to London. This was accordingly done, and Bedloe was examined in presence of the king on the 7th of November. He declared that he had seen the body of Godfrey at Somerset House (the residence of the queen), where he had been smothered between pillows by two Jesuits, and that he had been offered two thousand guineas to help to remove it. At a subsequent examination he said that Godfrey had been inveigled into Somerset House about five in the evening, and there strangled with a linen cravat. But it so happened that at that very hour the king was visiting the queen, and the place was full of guards; furthermore, the room in which he stated that he saw the body was the one appropriated to the queen's footmen, who were always in it. At first, too, he knew nothing of the plot: but, having read Oates's narrative, his memory brightened, and he could call to mind many circumstances which he had learned from the English monks, nuns, and other religious persons whom he had met with on the Continent, all corroborating it.

Bedloe was, if possible, more infamous than Oates. He had been originally a servant of Lord Bellasis; had travelled, chiefly as a courier, over a great part of the Continent; had been guilty of many acts of robbery and swindling, often the inmate of a prison, and was now but recently out of Newgate.

The popular leaders, on the 28th of October, had procured the passage of a test bill* through the commons, which would effectually exclude Catholics from

not know but that next morning they might all rise with their throats cut."

* This bill required that all members of either house of parliament should, on taking their seats, subscribe a declaration that there is no transubstantiation of the elements in the Lord's supper; and that the invocation of saints, as allowed in the Church of Rome, is idolatrous.—*Am. Ed.*

parliament and from the royal presence. While it was under consideration in the house of lords, an address was moved there by Shaftesbury, and in the commons by Lord Russell, for excluding the Duke of York from the presence and councils of the king; and the efforts in the commons made to defeat this motion having been unsuccessful, the duke, at his brother's desire, resigned his place at the council-board. Charles then having addressed the two houses in complacent terms, the lords resumed the discussion of the bill, and it was passed, with a proviso that it should not extend to the Duke of York. By this bill twenty Catholic peers lost their seats, and for a century and a half their descendants continued to be excluded.

The two informers (urged, as was suspected, by the enemies of the duke, who wished to revive the project of a royal divorce) now proceeded to accuse the queen. Oates swore that, going one time with some Jesuits to Somerset House, he remained in the antechamber while they went in to the queen, and, as the door was ajar, he heard her exclaim, "I will no longer suffer such indignities to my bed. I am content to join in procuring his death, and the propagation of the Catholic faith." Yet, when sent to Somerset House, he could not find the room in which he had been. Bedloe, too, deposed to a conference between the queen, Lord Bellasis, and some Jesuits and other priests which he had overheard. Oates appeared at the bar of the commons on the 28th, and in a loud voice cried, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catharine, queen of England, of high treason." An address was voted to remove the queen and her attendants from Whitehall; but the lords, having examined the two witnesses, positively refused to concur in it, and the absurd and unfortunate charge was dropped. The king in this matter behaved well, and expressed his determination to protect her from oppression. He told Burnet that, "considering his faultiness to her in other respects, he thought it a horrible thing to abandon her."

The impeachment of Lord Danby, which had been long maturing, was now effected. Montague, the am-

bassador at Paris, came over, without asking permission, and succeeded in obtaining a seat in the house of commons. His object was the ruin of Danby, and he entered into relations for this purpose with the popular leaders and with Barillon, from which last he was to receive 100,000 crowns in case of success. Danby, having had secret information of his project, and knowing that he possessed documents which might be used to his injury, obtained an order of council for the seizure of his papers: Montague, however, had secured the most important one, and it was read before the house. This was a letter from Danby to him on the 25th of March, during the negotiations for peace, directing him to offer to Louis the king's good offices in procuring such a peace as would be for his advantage, on condition of receiving 6,000,000 livres a year for a term of three years, as it was probable the parliament would not be in humour to grant any supplies before the expiration of that period. Nothing could be more repugnant to Danby's feelings than a business of this kind; but the love of peace, or an erroneous view of the duties of his office, had induced him to yield; and the king, to satisfy him, wrote at the bottom, "This letter is writ by my order. C. R."* When this circumstance is considered, with the additional fact that Montague himself appears not only to have suggested the project, but to have stipulated for reward with the French agent, and thus broke through every principle of honour, few greater instances of political turpitude can probably be found. The house, however, heeded nothing but their passions: they discovered in this only another link in the chain of popish machinations, and on the 19th of December voted an impeachment of the lord-treasurer, 1. for traitorously arrogating to himself regal power, by treating with foreign courts without the knowledge of the council; 2. for endeavouring to subvert the constitution by keeping up a standing army; 3. for negotiating a peace in favour of France to the prejudice of

* That is, Carolus Rex, or Charles the King.

England, that he might receive money from the French king for keeping up that army; 4. for being popishly inclined, and having concealed the popish plot; 5. for having wasted the royal treasure; and, lastly, for having obtained for himself grants from the crown. Though the words *treason* and *traitorously* were used liberally in these charges, the lords plainly saw that the treasurer's offence, if he were guilty, did not go beyond a misdemeanour; and as he defended himself with much ability, they refused to commit him. At the desire of the treasurer, the king, on the 30th, prorogued the parliament to the 4th of February, and during the prorogation, viz., on the 14th of January, 1679, it was dissolved.

Thus, after a duration of nearly eighteen years, ended the second and last Long Parliament. It had been elected in the full intoxication of loyalty consequent on the Restoration, and at first it seemed inclined to free the royal authority from all limitations whatever; but time had abated its fervour. The jealousy in relation to the public liberties, which had never been extinct, revived; the Protestant feeling, then characteristic of the nation, became alarmed; and, instead of continuing a submissive body of loyalists, it was converted into an assembly suspicious of the court, and neither to be managed by intrigue nor daunted by power.

The courts of law were, in the mean time, proceeding with the trials of those charged by Oates and Bedloe with being concerned in the plot. Space does not allow us to enter into details: suffice it to say, that the witnesses against them were generally men of the worst character; that Chief-justice Scroggs, and his brethren on the bench, acted with the most flagrant partiality and injustice, uniformly assuming the guilt of the accused, aiding the witnesses for the crown when embarrassed, explaining away their contradictions, and browbeating, sneering at, and insulting those for the defence; and that, consequently, conviction was no proof whatever of guilt.*

* "Never," says Hallam, "were our tribunals so disgraced by

Coleman was the first tried, and the witnesses against him were Oates and Bedloe, and his own letters. In the eyes of the court and jury, Oates's testimony was not invalidated even by his not having known the person of the prisoner when first confronted with him. Coleman was found guilty, and died on the 3d of December, asserting his innocence to the last.

Grove, Pickering, and a Jesuit named Ireland were next brought to trial, on the 17th. Though the last made it clear that he was in Staffordshire at the time Oates swore he was in London, it availed him nothing; "You have done, gentlemen," said Scroggs to the jury, "like very good subjects and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good Protestants; and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them," alluding to Pickering's reward. These men were executed on the 14th of January, 1679, all of them likewise asserting their innocence.

Hill, Green, and Berry, persons employed at Somerset House, were charged by Bedloe with the murder of Godfrey. As the law required two witnesses, one Miles Prance, a Catholic silversmith, whom Bedloe had also accused, was treated with so much rigour in Newgate, and so worked on by promises and threats, that he was at last induced to confess his guilt, and appear as a witness against the other prisoners. Bedloe's evidence and his contradicted each other in the grossest manner: but this was of no avail to the accused. All three were condemned and executed, protesting their innocence to the last. Berry, it is to be observed, died a Protestant.

An auxiliary to Oates and Bedloe had appeared in the person of one Carstairs, a profligate Scot. He swore that, in an eating-house near Covent Garden, he heard Staley, a Catholic banker, say in French to another person that the king was a rogue, and that he

the brutal manners and iniquitous partiality of the bench as in the latter years of this reign. The State Trials, none of which appear to have been published by the prisoners' friends, bear abundant testimony to the turpitude of the judges."—*Am. Ed.*

himself would stab him if no one else would. It was probably at first only a project to frighten money out of the banker: for Carstairs and another waited on him the next day, and offered to hush up the matter for £200. Staley merely laughed at the charge. They then resolved to go through with their iniquity; and he was seized, brought to trial forthwith, found guilty on their evidence, and hanged. As soon as Burnet heard of this business, he lost no time in informing the chancellor and attorney-general of the infamy of Carstair's character: but the latter took it ill of him to disparage, as he said, the king's evidence.*

In the elections for the new parliament, the court candidates were almost everywhere rejected. To express the slightest doubt of the plot deprived a man of all chance of a seat; and the new parliament therefore would, it was expected, prove still more unmanageable than the last. As a means of averting the storm which he saw gathering, the king commissioned the primate and some other prelates to endeavour to bring back his brother to the Protestant faith: but all their efforts were unavailing on the obstinate mind of the duke; and Charles then required him to withdraw from the country for a time. To this James consented, provided the king would give him a written order to that effect, and also solemnly promise not to sacrifice his rights, in his absence, to the Duke of Monmouth. Charles communicated the order in an affectionate manner; and then solemnly declared, before the council, that he had never entered into any contract of marriage, nor married any woman except his queen. He subscribed this declaration, and ordered it to be enrolled in chancery. The duke then set out with his family for Brussels.

On the 6th of March, immediately after the duke was gone, the parliament met. Seymour, the former

* Dr. Lingard adds, "And the timid divine shrunk from the frown of the barrister, and left the unfortunate man to his fate;" for which, however, he has no authority in Burnet's narrative.

speaker, was rechosen; the king, however, rejected him, and proposed another; the commons insisted on *their* right, the king on *his;* and the dispute was finally terminated by appointing a third person. Henceforth it became an established principle, that the house should choose, but that the crown might reject, the speaker presented to it.

The commons now prepared to proceed with the impeachment of Danby: but the king, having previously dismissed him from his office, summoned the two houses to his presence, and told them that what Danby had done had been by *his* orders, and he had therefore granted him a pardon, and would do so a dozen times if it were necessary; but that, at the same time, he had seen reason to exclude him from his presence and council. The commons, however, viewed this pardon as illegal, and resolved to proceed; while the lords, afraid to oppose them, directed that the earl should be taken into custody. Danby concealed himself at Whitehall: the lords now passed a bill for his banishment, but the commons rejected it, and passed another for his attainder, unless he should surrender himself against a certain day; this the lords altered; but the commons were determined, and the lords had again to give way, and pass the bill of attainder. Danby then, on the 16th of April, surrendered himself, and was committed to the Tower. Some days after (on the 25th) he gave in his answer, denying the charges, and pleading the pardon which he had received from the king. The commons acted with the most indecent violence; the peers hesitated; a prorogation took place; and the impeachment was never renewed, though it was not till the year 1683 that the duke was admitted to bail.

This nobleman, who plays so important a part in English history, was a statesman of the Clarendon school. He belonged to the old Cavalier party, and was therefore for keeping the prerogative at the highest point; but, like that party, he was sincerely attached to Protestantism, and consequently would not abet the royal projects in favour of popery. He

was also cordially opposed to the French influence; though, as we have seen, he had yielded something on this point to the wishes of the king. It should never be forgotten that he was the chief promoter of the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Prince of Orange.

At this time the king, acting under the advice of Sir William Temple, made a completely new organization of his council. It was now to consist of thirty members, instead of fifty as before; one half to be the great officers of state, and the remainder the leading popular members in both houses, so chosen that the aggregate annual income of the members of the council should amount to £300,000, to balance that of the commons, which was estimated at £400,000; it being then a maxim in politics, that influence is proportioned to property. It was expected that the hostility of the popular leaders would in this way be mitigated; and with this view Charles himself nominated Shaftesbury president of the council.

The hopes of the king, however, were deceived: the Protestant spirit of the commons was not to be thus quieted; and Shaftesbury continued to direct their movements. A resolution threatening the Duke of York having been voted unanimously by the commons on the 27th of April, Charles, in order to avert the blow which he saw coming, proposed such limitations on the power of a popish successor as seemed to leave him without the means of doing mischief. The commons, however, took no notice of the proposal; and the committee appointed by them to search for evidence against the duke having made their report, on the 15th of May brought in a bill for excluding him from the throne; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the court party, the duke's friends, and the supporters of hereditary right, it was passed on the 21st by a majority of seventy-nine.

This vote secretly determined the king to get rid of his house of commons without delay. There were also several other measures which plainly showed the spirit that actuated them. In their animosity to

Danby, they had voted that, if any member of their house should, without permission, support the validity of his pardon, he should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of Englishmen; and, to diminish the influence of the crown in the house of peers, they maintained that the bishops had no right to sit and vote in capital cases. Their arguments were, however, successfully opposed; and it was decided, that in such cases the prelates have a right to stay in court "till the question of guilty or not guilty were put." The commons had moreover appointed a committee, the chief object of which was to discover the pecuniary corruption of the late parliament. The king therefore, on the 27th, without advising with his council, prorogued the parliament for ten weeks. This proceeding so disconcerted Shaftesbury, that he openly declared he would have the heads of those who had advised it.

One most meritorious act distinguishes this parliament, and does great credit to Shaftesbury, by whose influence it was passed. Hitherto the operation of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* had been so ineffective, that the boasted security it offered proved for the most part illusory. By the *Habeas Corpus* act at this time passed, it was made imperative on the judges to grant the writ when applied for; the practice of sending persons to be imprisoned beyond sea was abolished; and it was directed that every prisoner should be indicted in the first term after his committal, and tried in the succeeding term.

During the recess, the public attention was occupied with more trials on account of the Plot. Five Jesuits, named Whitebread (the provincial of the order), Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, were placed at the bar. The witnesses against them were Oates, Bedloe, Prance, and a man named Dugdale, who had been steward to Lord Aston, a Catholic nobleman. The evidence against the prisoners was of the usual kind: in their defence they impeached the veracity of the witnesses; and produced sixteen students from St. Omer's to prove that Oates was there

at the very time when he swore he was at the meeting of the Jesuits in London. Against these Oates produced six or seven persons, who testified that they had seen him in London at that time; and the court giving credit to these last, the prisoners were all found guilty. The next day, the 14th, Langhorn, an eminent lawyer and the law agent of the Jesuits, was put on his trial. On his appearing in court, the crowd set up a hooting at him; his witnesses were insulted and beaten; and, when the jury brought in their verdict of guilty, a shout of exultation was raised.

The Jesuits were executed on the 20th, and died solemnly protesting their innocence. Langhorn was respited for some time, in hopes that he might be induced to make discoveries; but, as he persisted in denying all knowledge of the plot, on the 14th of July he shared the fate of the other victims.

Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Corker, Marshal, and Rumby, Benedictine monks, were next put on their trial, on the 18th. They had advantages, however, which the others had not. Though it was generally believed that the Catholics held it lawful to lie for the good of their cause, the solemn protestations of innocence made by those who had been executed had produced a favourable impression on the minds of many; and the cause of Wakeman, moreover, was in reality that of the queen, of whose innocence few could have a doubt. Neither were the king's feelings on this point any secret; and Scroggs, now at length assuming the character of an impartial judge, treated Oates and Bedloe as they deserved. The jury acquitted the prisoners; when the two baffled informers had the audacity to declare that they would never more give evidence in a court where Scroggs presided, and actually exhibited articles against him to the council.

Seven or eight priests were executed in different parts of England under the old laws for exercising their spiritual functions. Two of them are said to have been upward of eighty years of age. As this practice had been connived at for so long a time, they

surely should have received notice, and been permitted to leave the kingdom. But the spirit of fanaticism (whether political or religious) is wild, impetuous, and overwhelming; no mounds of justice or equity can withstand it while it is in its full force.*

We must now turn to the affairs of Scotland.

When Episcopacy was re-established in that country in 1662, an act of indemnity, containing nearly one thousand exceptions, was introduced; and Middleton and his friends looked forward to a copious harvest of confiscations. The speedy disgrace of that profligate minister, however, averted the storm for a season. The bishops, in the mean time, held their synods; and in the North, the clergy in general submitted, but those of the West resolved not to acknowledge their jurisdiction. They proposed to offer a kind of passive resistance: but Middleton, in one of his drunken orgies at Glasgow, passed an act of council for displacing all ministers who did not obtain induction from the prelates. Not less than three hundred and fifty ministers were thereby ejected in the beginning of the winter; and they and their families were turned out of their houses, their stipends for the last year remaining unpaid. A body of ignorant, vicious *curates* were brought from the North to supply the vacant churches. But the people would not attend their preaching: they crowded every Sunday to the residences of their former pastor; and, as they were generally too small to contain them, they began to hold their meetings in the open fields. To put an end to this, the council ordered the ejected clergy not to approach within twenty miles of their former parishes; and the people were forbidden, under severe penalties, to contribute to their support.

If Middleton was bad, his successor Lauderdale was

* Sir W. Temple says respecting the execution of the priests, "Upon this point Lord Halifax and I had so sharp a debate, that he told me, if I would not concur in points that were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell everybody I was a papist, affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it was so or no."

still worse. The prelates now, in 1663, were dominant; severe acts were passed against the ejected clergy and their adherents; and a miniature Inquisition, named an ecclesiastical commission, was appointed to enforce them. The jails were filled; numbers went over to Ulster; at length the lay-commissioners, in disgust, refused to act, and the odious commission was suffered to expire. But a severer scourge succeeded in 1665. A body of troops, commanded by Sir James Turner, a dissolute, ferocious Englishman, was sent into the West, to punish the people for deserting their churches. The curates were the accusers, the soldiers judges; and enormous fines were thus exacted, accompanied by every species of indignity and insult. Numbers of the gentry, as well as peasantry, fled from their habitations, and took shelter in the mountains and moors. At length an incident, similar to what occasioned a secession in ancient Rome, produced an insurrection. An indigent old man, being unable to pay the fines imposed on him, was bound and laid on the ground to be conveyed to prison. The sight exasperated the peasantry, and they disarmed the soldiers and released him. This took place on the 13th of November, 1666. Despair now made them resolve on resistance; others joined them; and on the 15th they advanced to Dumfries, where they surprised and captured Turner: but, on reading his instructions, and finding that, barbarous as he was, he had not acted fully up to them, they granted him his life. At Lanark, where their numbers amounted to two thousand, they renewed the covenant. They then advanced towards Edinburgh, and came within two miles of that city: but, finding preparations made for defence, and that their friends within could not join them as they had expected, they set out on their return home, their number being now reduced to eight or nine hundred. At the Pentland Hills they were, on the 28th, overtaken by General Dalziel. They drew up, therefore, on the summit of a hill; their ministers preached and prayed to encourage them, and they sang the 78th Psalm. The first

charge of the royal troops they repelled, but at sunset they broke and fled. The darkness befriended them, and not more than one hundred and thirty were taken, while the slain did not exceed fifty. Cowardice is always cruel; and the two archbishops, who had been in the utmost consternation, now breathed nothing but vengeance. Twenty of the captives were executed in Edinburgh as traitors, and thirty-five were hung at their own doors in the country. At length an order came down from court to stop the slaughter. Archbishop Burnet, who was the bearer of this order, had the barbarity to keep it back till Maccail, a young preacher, had been executed, after undergoing, with undaunted resolution, the horrid torture of the *boot*. Maccail's last words were: "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars; farewell, kindred and friends; farewell, world and time; farewell, weak and frail body: welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Saviour of the world; and welcome, God, the judge of all."

Dalziel and Drummond, two brutal soldiers who had long been in the Muscovite service, were sent to the West; and Dalziel's threats to spit and roast men were confirmed by his deeds. Some persons were put to death on the highway without trial; others were tortured by having lighted matches fastened to their fingers; a son was executed for refusing to betray his father; and a wife tortured till she died for aiding the escape of her husband. Rape, robbery, and murder desolated the unhappy country for the space of seven months. The clergy abetted the excesses of the soldiery, whom they treated as their friends and patrons, and they spoke of these times as a golden age.

A change in the Scottish ministry in 1667 brought some repose to the country; but with the return of Lauderdale to Scotland in 1669, the persecution was renewed. The laws against conventicles acquired new vigour; and these, in their turn, assumed a more formidable appearance, as those who attended them carried arms for their defence, and thus frequent af-

frays took place between the people and the military. The Scottish law having a civil excommunication, similar to the *Interdictio aquæ et ignis* (*the prohibition of fire and water*) of the Roman law, styled Letters of Intercommuning, these were issued in great numbers against those who were known to frequent conventicles or to absent themselves from church; among whom were not only ministers and gentlemen, but even ladies of distinction. These and other severities drove many to adopt a vagrant life, and gradually to acquire the feelings and habits of outlaws.

Some years before, an attempt had been made on the life of Sharp. The assassin had escaped: but, six years after, Sharp, observing a man to eye him frequently, thought he recognised the features of the person who had fired at him. The man was arrested, and proved to be a fanatic preacher named Mitchel. On the solemn promise of Sharp and the council that his life should be safe, he confessed his attempt on the archbishop. It was proposed to cut off his hand: but, having received a hint from a friendly or humane judge not to confess in court unless his limbs were secured as well as his life, he baffled the vengeance of the primate. A pretext, however, was made for putting him to the torture; and he was then confined in the prison on the Bass Rock, where he languished for four years. His trial was then renewed at the instance of Sharp, who, with Lauderdale, Rothes, and Hatton, did not scruple to declare on oath that no promise of life had been made to him. A copy of the act of council was produced: but Lauderdale refused to allow the books in which it was registered (and where it still remains, a witness of their baseness and perjury) to be examined, and the court condemned the prisoner. Lauderdale would have respited him, but the primate was inexorable: "Nay, then," said Lauderdale, scoffingly, "let him glorify God in the Grass Market" (the usual place of execution); and the prisoner was executed without delay.

The great object of the king was, as we have seen,

to obtain a standing army as the only sure step to arbitrary power. Lauderdale, in compliance with this desire, had raised an army in Scotland: but it was necessary to have a pretext for keeping it up; and there is strong reason to suspect that it was concerted at court to drive the Scots into insurrection with this view. Accordingly, the landlords in the West were required to enter into bonds for the good conduct of all persons on their lands with respect to conventicles, etc.; and, on their refusal, Lauderdale declared the western counties in a state of revolt. Troops were therefore marched on all sides towards them; and, by express order of the king, a body of six thousand ferocious Highlanders were invited from their mountains, and, in the middle of the winter of 1678, let loose on the unhappy counties, to exercise all the atrocities of free quarters. Their ravages lasted for a space of three months, but failed, nevertheless, to goad the people into rebellion.

At length the desired occasion was presented. One of the commissioners for suppressing conventicles, named Carmichael, had exercised great severities in Fife. Nine of those who had suffered lay in wait for him one day (May 3, 1679) on Magus Moor, near St. Andrew's, intending to fall on him while hunting. But he had received information of their design, and retired to Cupar. When they were about to separate, a coach and six came in sight, and a boy cried out, "There goes the bishop!" The fanatics thought they saw the hand of God in this event; and believing that Heaven had thus delivered the arch-persecutor into their hands, they mounted their horses, and, led by John Balfour, a violent enthusiast, they crossed the moor and came up with the carriage, in which were only Sharp and his daughter. They fired into it; and, as their shots did not take effect, they dragged their victim out. To his promises, remonstrances, and entreaties, they only replied that they bore him no personal malice, but that they were obeying the commands of God; and with their swords they barbarously slew him, and left his body on the road. They

then retired to a neighbouring cottage, where they passed several hours in prayer.

Sharp may be called the Laud of Scotland. Like him, he was regular in his conduct in private life, but a tyrant and a persecutor in public. But Sharp was an apostate and a traitor to those who had trusted him; and he seems to have had little religion of any kind. No one, we should hope, who has read the preceding pages of this History, will suspect us of being the apologists of crime: but we cannot avoid recognising the justice of Heaven in permitting even the irregular punishment of offenders who are not amenable to earthly tribunals.

Rewards were offered for the murderers, and holding conventicles was declared to be treasonable. The assassins were now in the West, where, in conjunction with one Hamilton, a preacher, they urged the people to resistance. On Friday, the 29th of May, a party entered the burgh of Rutherglen, and publicly burned the acts restoring Episcopacy. On the following Sunday, Graham of Claverhouse, with three troops of horse, attacked their conventicle at Drumclog by Loudon Hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty of his men. The troops now abandoned Glasgow to the Covenanters, whose numbers gradually increased: but the time which should have been devoted to action was employed in religious controversy; and while their only hopes lay in union, they were split into parties.

When the news reached London, the Duke of Monmouth was sent down as commander-in-chief. His first instructions authorized him both to treat and to fight: but Lauderdale induced the king secretly to alter them, and to direct him not to treat, but to attack the rebels wherever they were found. Monmouth advanced from Edinburgh at the head of ten thousand men, and on the 21st came up with the Whigs, to the number of four or five thousand, posted at Bothwell Bridge, near Hamilton, on the Clyde. They sent to treat, but were required to surrender at discretion. The bridge was defended for some time

against the duke: but when his troops had crossed it, the insurgents broke and fled at the first discharge of cannon. Four hundred were slain, and twelve hundred surrendered, whose lives were saved by the humanity of Monmouth: his merciful conduct in this expedition winning the applause even of the Scots themselves. On his return to court he became their advocate: but the influence of Lauderdale finally prevailed; the sanguinary and rapacious Claverhouse was let loose on the devoted country; and the court of justiciary almost ruined the gentry by the imposition of unjust and enormous fines.

Soon after the return of Monmouth, on the 16th of July, the king, with the advice of lords Sunderland,* Essex, and Halifax, dissolved the parliament. In the following month he was seized with a fever at Windsor; and by the advice of the same ministers and other members of the council, who feared, perhaps, the influence of Shaftesbury if Monmouth should ascend the throne, on the 23d of August he recalled the duke from Brussels. James came without delay, travelling under a feigned name. The king, however, was convalescent when he arrived; and it was soon after deemed advisable that both James and Monmouth should quit the kingdom. They went to the Low Countries: but, not long after, the Duke of York returned, and obtained permission to reside in Scotland, whither he repaired without delay.

When the new parliament met on the 17th of October, it presented the same composition as the preceding one; and Shaftesbury, whom the king had just deprived of his office in the council, looked forward to vengeance on the court by means of it: but, to his dismay, the king prorogued it the very day it met; and successive prorogations prevented its reassembling for a twelvemonth. Charles, before he ventured on this step, had agreed with Louis for a pension of a

* Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland, was the son of the earl of that name who was killed at the first battle of Newbury. His mother was Lady Dorothy Sidney, daughter of Lord Leicester, the Sacharissa of Waller's poetry.

million of livres a year for three years, and thus thought himself independent. But the treaty had not been signed; and Louis now wanted to add some other conditions. These Charles rejected; and he had, consequently, no alternative but to follow the advice of his brother, and economize his income; and this he made an effort to do rather than meet his parliament.

Shaftesbury now tried various expedients to rouse the popular feeling. The old ceremony of burning the pope was performed in London on the 17th of November, with more than usual expense and show. Immediately after, Monmouth returned without permission; and, although the king ordered him to depart, and deprived him of all his employments, he still remained in defiance of him, and went on with his endeavours to gain the popular favour. A pamphlet, called "An Appeal from the Country to the City," etc., was also at this time put forth, in which the claims of Monmouth were warmly advocated, and great stress was laid on the maxim, that "the worst title makes the best king."

But the grand expedient was to crowd in petitions from all parts to the king, to allow the parliament to sit at the end of the first prorogation. To stem this torrent when it began to appear formidable, on the 12th of December the king issued a proclamation, threatening with punishment all who should subscribe petitions in any manner contrary to the law of the land. The immediate effect was remarkable: the dormant loyalty of the nation was awakened, and from all sides counter addresses poured in, expressing the deepest respect for the royal prerogative, and *abhorrence* of the practices of those who sought to limit it. The two opposite parties were at first named Petitioners and Abhorrers: but these designations soon gave place to those of Whigs and Tories, which have continued to distinguish the two rival parties in the state down to the present day. The popular party were called by their opponents Whigs, as being akin in their sentiments to the Scottish fanatics who were

thus named; and they retaliated by styling their antagonists Tories, as resembling the popish robbers of this name in Ireland.

The king was now imboldened to recall the Duke of York to court, on the 28th of January, 1680. Russell, Cavendish, Capel, and Powle forthwith tendered their resignations as members of the council, which the king told them he accepted "with all his heart:" speaking, no doubt, most sincerely. The duke's influence immediately appeared. There had long been great talk of a *black box*, containing the king's marriage contract with Monmouth's mother, said to have been left by the late Bishop of Durham in charge of his son-in-law, Sir Gilbert Gerard; and it was even reported that many persons had seen and read the contract. All these persons were now examined before the privy-council, and they disclaimed all knowledge both of the box and contract. Two royal declarations were then published, in which the king solemnly affirmed that he had never been contracted or married to any one but the queen.

Shaftesbury's next measure was a bold one. Accompanied by the Earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russell, Cavendish, and others, among whom was Titus Oates, he went, on the 26th of June, to Westminster Hall, and presented the Duke of York to the grand-jury for recusancy. He was, however, defeated by a stratagem of the chief-justice, who suddenly dismissed the jury: but his principal object was attained; he convinced his party that he was resolved to seek no compromise with the duke.

While these various political intrigues were going on, the lives of persons continued to be endangered on account of the Popish Plot. At this time Lord Castlemain and the Countess of Powis, wife of one of the Catholic lords in the Tower, were accused by a man named Dangerfield; and Sir Thomas Gascoygne and others of the Catholic gentry of Yorkshire by one Bolton.

Dangerfield, a man of infamous character, like most of the informers, had been, in the summer of the last

year, the author of what was called the Mealtub Plot. This fellow, having become acquainted with one Mrs. Cellier, a Catholic, conceived the idea of fabricating a plot of the Presbyterians against the government. Mrs. Cellier, through Lady Powis, introduced him to Lord Peterborough, who brought him to the Duke of York. That prince gave him twenty guineas; and he received forty from the king, with whom also he had an interview. At his instigation, the revenue-officers were sent to search for smuggled lace in the lodgings of one Colonel Mansel, who, he said, was to be quarter-master of the Presbyterian army, and behind his bed they found a parcel of treasonable papers. As these were manifest forgeries, Dangerfield was committed to Newgate, and there he declared that he had been bribed by the papists to forge the plot, and to assassinate the king and Lord Shaftesbury. He asserted that documents corroborating his confession would be found hid in a *mealtub* in Mrs. Cellier's house; and there they certainly were found. The juries, however, both on her trial and on that of Lord Castlemain, refused to give credit to Dangerfield. The whole affair is, as usual, involved in mystery. It is possible that the Catholics may have endeavoured to get up a counter-plot; or the Monmouth-party may have sought, by means of a sham-plot, to cast odium on the Duke of York. All parties at this time, in their anxiety about ends, were but too indifferent as to means.

The party opposed to the Duke of York was now greatly increased in strength. Two of the ministers, Sunderland and Godolphin,* had joined it; and the Duchess of Portsmouth, menaced with impeachment, had, through Lord Howard of Escrick, entered into the league on condition of all being dropped. She was employed to offer the king, over whom she had great

* Sidney Godolphin, a younger son of an ancient Cornish family. He was made one of the grooms of the bedchamber after the Restoration. He was at this time a commissioner of the treasury. In 1684 he was created a baron. Godolphin married the beautiful and virtuous maid of honour, Miss Blague, of whom Evelyn speaks so highly in his Memoirs.

influence, a large sum of money and the power of naming his successor.

When the time for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the opponents of the Duke of York laboured to impress on the king's mind the necessity of his return to Scotland. To this the duke was very averse, as he knew that his presence encouraged his friends and kept his brother steady. He was, however, obliged to yield, and departed on the 20th of October, the king having promised not to give up any of the rights of the crown, and to dissolve the parliament if it should attempt to impeach him. James, however, did not trust alone to the royal declaration: sooner than forego his right to the succession, he was prepared to rekindle the flames of civil war; and, at the head of his partisans in the three kingdoms, to bid the king defiance.* Louis, constant to his plan of weakening England, directed Barillon to encourage him by offers of assistance.

The day after the duke's departure, the parliament met, and no time was lost in proceeding to the grand question of his exclusion from the throne. Dangerfield appeared before them on the 26th, and his account of the duke's knowledge of his forging the plot, and of his encouraging him to kill the king, found real or affected belief. Lord Russell then moved a resolution "to take into consideration how to suppress popery and to prevent a popish successor." The resolution was unanimously adopted. On the succeeding days, a deposition of Bedloe, made on his death-bed, was read; Dugdale, Prance, and another witness were heard in proof of the duke's knowledge of the late plot, and the house voted, on the 2d of November, that a bill should be introduced to disable the Duke of York from succeeding to the crown.

Besides the thoroughgoing supporters of the court and country parties, there was in the house a third

† "Il est persuadé que l'autorité royale ne se peut rétablir en Angleterre que par une guerre civile."—Barillon, Aug. 19, 1680. [*He is persuaded that the royal authority can be restored in England only by a civil war.*]

party, more respectable, perhaps, than either, named the "Party-volant" (*the flying party*), i. e., the independent members, whose weight could incline the beam to either side. These latter now united with the Whigs; and, to intimidate the court party, the same tactics were resorted to as in the beginning of the parliament of 1640. They caused petitions against their returns to be presented; and having voted that it is the undoubted right of the subjects to petition the king to call a parliament, as if it followed by natural consequence that they have no right to petition for the reverse, they forthwith fell on the Abhorrers. They expelled Sir George Withens for having promoted one of the abhorrent petitions, and appointed a committee to inquire what other members had been guilty of a like offence. They frightened the recorder, Sir George Jeffreys, a man afterward so notorious, into a resignation of his office, which they procured for Sir George Treby; and their officers were sent throughout England to take Abhorrers into custody. The nation seemed to be again menaced with the yoke of an arbitrary parliament: but Mr. Stawell, a gentleman of Exeter, having refused to submit to the sergeant-at-arms, the commons discovered that they were exceeding their powers, and quietly receded from their pretensions.

The bill of exclusion was introduced on the 4th. It was supported by Lord Russell and the other popular leaders, and opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, Laurence Hyde, Seymour, Temple, and others. The king sent a message intimating that he would not consent to alter the succession: but no notice was taken of it, and the bill passed on the 15th by a large majority. Four days after it was carried to the lords by Lord Russell. When he read out the title, those behind him gave a loud cheer. In the lords it was supported by Shaftesbury and Essex, and opposed by Halifax. The king canvassed for his brother; the bishops were stanch to the cause of the prerogative, and the bill was rejected by a majority of sixty-three to thirty.*

* Monmouth very indecorously voted openly for the bill, saying

Shaftesbury then proposed, "as the only remaining chance for liberty and religion," a bill of divorce. But to this Charles was as averse as ever: he employed his interest against it also, and it was not proceeded with.

The commons, to gratify their resentment, addressed the king to remove Halifax from his presence and councils: he replied, that he did not think they had given sufficient reasons for the adoption of that measure. They also impeached Seymour for malversation in his office of treasurer of the navy; his real offence was his vigorous opposition to the Exclusion bill. Their next proceeding was of a more malignant character: they revived the impeachment against the venerable Lord Stafford, one of the popish lords in the Tower.

The trial took place on the 30th of November, in Westminster Hall, which was fitted up for the occasion in the usual manner. The chancellor, Finch, earl of Nottingham, acted as lord-high-steward; and Maynard, Winnington, Treby, and other lawyers, were the managers on the part of the commons. Oates, Dugdale, and a new witness named Turberville were the principal witnesses against the accused. The trial lasted five days.

The managers commenced by endeavouring to establish the truth of the plot in general, and then to show that the prisoner was concerned in it. Oates swore that he saw Ireland deliver him a commission to be paymaster-general of the Catholic army; Dugdale, that Lord Stafford had offered him £500 to kill the king; and Turberville, that he had made a similar offer to himself at Paris. Lord Stafford, though a man of very moderate abilities, aided by the power of truth, made an able defence, and showed that the testimony of the witnesses abounded in contradictions, and was not to be credited. On the last day (the 4th of December), the managers replied; and, three days after, the lords reassembled to give sentence; when,

he knew no other way to preserve the life of the king from the malice of the Duke of York. The king, in a loud whisper, likened this to the kiss of Judas.

out of eighty-six peers, fifty-five pronounced him guilty. After being brought in and informed of the result, he said, "God's holy name be praised! I confess I am surprised at it; but God's holy will be done and your lordships'; I will not murmur at it." He requested to have liberty to see his wife, children, and friends during the short time he had to live. His request was granted, and it was added that they would intercede with his majesty to remit all the sentence except the beheading. He burst into tears: "My lords," said he, "it is not your justice, but your kindness that makes me weep."

In the Tower he was visited, at his own desire, by the Bishop of London and Dr. Burnet. He listened to their arguments on religious topics attentively, but said he had no time now for controversy, and they had the good sense not to urge him. He denied all knowledge of any design against the life of the king, but said that he could discover many other things for which the duke would never forgive him. At his desire Burnet spoke to Lord Essex, Lord Russell, and Sir William Jones; and they replied, that if he told what he knew of the designs of the papists, and "more particularly concerning the duke," they would endeavour to have him excused from confessing what related to himself. He said to Burnet, "What if I should name some who have now great credit, but had once engaged to serve their designs?" Burnet advised him to speak the whole truth.

Lord Stafford was brought to the bar of the house of lords on the 18th. He related the various projects of the Catholics for the security and advancement of their religion. As they conceived that this could only be effected by means of toleration, he said that their last plan had been a coalition with the country party, which was approved of both by the duke and Lord Shaftesbury: but when he named the last, he was ordered to withdraw, for the house would hear him no more. He was remanded to the Tower, and that very day the order for his execution was issued to the sheriffs. These were Bethel and Cornish, two Inde-

pendents, and creatures of Shaftesbury. They questioned, it is not known why, the validity of the writ, as it was the house of lords, and not the king, that had sentenced him. The lords, when applied to, said "the king's writ ought to be obeyed:" but, not satisfied with this, the sheriffs caused the commons to be asked, Whether the king, or even the lords, can order the execution? and whether the king can remit a part, or, if a part, why not the whole of the sentence? The commons got over the difficulty by saying that "the house was content that the sheriffs should execute William, late Viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his body *only*."

Lord Stafford was beheaded on the 29th on Tower Hill. When he first appeared a few groans and yells were raised: but the general conduct of the spectators was respectful, and most of them took off their hats. He spoke at some length in vindication of his innocence; and the generous populace cried out, "We believe you, my lord. God bless you, my lord!" He laid down his head, and one stroke terminated his life.

Of Lord Stafford's innocence there cannot, we think, be even the shade of a doubt on any impartial mind. But the Whig party are, perhaps unjustly, loaded with the odium of his death, for its true cause seems to have been the prevalent delusion which darkened even the clearest understandings. The Whigs were, it is well known, a minority in the house of lords, which condemned him. The chancellor and the Duke of Lauderdale, and other ministers of the crown, it may be observed, voted him guilty, while Hollis and Halifax voted in his favour. Four of his own kinsmen, the Howards, voted against him: while another of them, Lord Arundel, though at enmity with him, voted in the minority. As for the king, he showed the utmost indifference. The Duke of York did perhaps all that he could for the unfortunate nobleman.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED).

1681–1685.

Oxford Parliament, and Triumph of the Court.—Execution of Oliver Plunket.—Duke of York in Scotland.—Surrender of Charters.—Rye-house Plot.—Trial and Execution of Lord Russell.—Oxford Decree.—Trial and Execution of Algernon Sidney.—Plans of the King; his Death and Character.

THE proceedings of the commons in the present session strongly reminded men of the days of 1641. Thus they refused the king supplies unless he would assent to the Exclusion bill; they impeached four of the judges; they resolved that several persons, whom they named, ought to be removed from public employments; and that any member of their house who should accept a place, or the promise of one, should be expelled, etc. The king and his ministers became alarmed; a resolution was taken to prorogue the parliament; and on the 18th of January, 1681, it was finally dissolved, and another summoned, to meet two months from that time at Oxford.

Oxford was selected, from a recollection of the aid which the commons had derived from the city of London in 1641. A petition, signed by sixteen peers, against the holding of the parliament in that city, was presented by Lord Essex, but without effect. The king, to ensure his independence of the commons, entered into a new treaty with Louis for a pension for a term of three years. To this he had been strongly urged by the Duke of York, who, on his part, was making every preparation for an appeal to arms.

When the day for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the king set out for Oxford, guarded by a troop of horse. Most of the members who repaired thither were armed, as well as their servants. Those of the

city of London were followed by a train on horseback, with blue ribands round their hats, inscribed with "No popery! no slavery!" The members returned to this parliament were in general those who had sat in the last.

The king being now in no dread of want of money, addressed the two houses on the 21st of March in a tone of authority. He spoke in severe terms of the conduct of the late parliament; declared that, as he would never act arbitrarily himself, he would not suffer others to do so; and expressed his rooted dislike of the Exclusion bill: but added that he was "ready to hearken to any expedient by which the religion might be preserved and the monarchy not destroyed" in case of a popish successor. One of the first acts of the commons was, nevertheless, to bring in again the Exclusion bill: but the debate on it was postponed for a few days, and, in the mean time, another matter occurred to occupy their attention.

There was an Irish Catholic, named Fitzharris, who, by means of his cousin, a Mrs. Wall, in the service of the Duchess of Portsmouth, had become connected with the court. He devoted himself to the discovery of the designs of the country party: and his services were at one time rewarded by the king with a present of £250. Probably with a view to a similar reward, Fitzharris resolved, in conjunction with one Everard, a Scotsman, to write a libel on the king and the Duke of York. As soon as it was prepared, Fitzharris hastened with a copy of it to his patroness, intending, perhaps, to denounce his coadjutor as the author: but the Scot had been too wily for him, having concealed Sir William Waller, a magistrate, and two others, behind the hangings in the room where they were composing it. Fitzharris was therefore committed to Newgate; and now, seeing himself in real danger, he pretended that he could make important discoveries of the designs of the Duke of York. The king, observing that the exclusionists were preparing to make use of him, had him removed to the Tower, and directed the attorney-general to endict

him for treason. The commons, however, believing, or pretending to believe, that this was a continuation of the Popish Plot, and that the object of the crown was to deprive them of the benefit of Fitzharris's revelations, determined on impeaching him before the lords. The peers, when the impeachment was brought up, decided not to entertain it; and the commons, in great indignation, voted their so doing to be a denial of justice and a violation of the constitution.

On that very day, the 26th, the debate on the Exclusion bill came on; and one of the ministers proposed the "expedient" at which the king had hinted. This was, that the duke should only have the title of king, and be banished to a distance of five hundred miles from England, while the Princess of Orange should administer the government as regent. After a long debate, the expedient was rejected; and it was resolved to proceed with the Exclusion bill. Two days after, on the 28th, as they were engaged in the second reading, they were suddenly summoned to the house of lords. They found the king seated on the throne; and, after a brief address, he ordered the chancellor to dissolve the parliament. He then got into his carriage and hurried away to Windsor, leaving the opponents of the court filled with rage and dismay.

By this act of resolution and dexterity, Charles completely overthrew the country party. Their conduct now appeared to most men to have been factious, and calculated to convert the monarchy into a republic. Loyal addresses, therefore, poured in from all quarters; and the pulpits everywhere resounded with declamations in favour of the duke and against the nonconformists. The declaration which the king put forth, stating the causes which induced him to dissolve the last two parliaments, was, on the proposal of Sancroft the primate, read out in all the churches.

The first proof which the court gave of its power was an order to the attorney-general to proceed with the trial of Fitzharris. He was found guilty, and ex-

ecuted at Tyburn on the 1st of July. It would appear that he was dealt with by agents of the court, to declare, with his dying breath, that he had been suborned by the recorder and sheriffs to make the depositions which he had made.

Fitzharris was a profligate wretch, and deserved his fate: but on the same day with him suffered a man of blameless and innocent life, sacrificed at the altar of the king's pretended zeal for Protestantism. This was Oliver Plunket, titular prelate of Armagh in Ireland, accused of a share in what was called the Irish Plot, for setting up popery in that country by means of a French army. The witnesses against him were mostly priests whom he had censured for their licentiousness and profligacy. Though five weeks were given him to bring over his witnesses, various circumstances concurred to keep them back; and, when the time of trial arrived, he had nothing to oppose to the evidence against him but his simple assertion. With his last breath he solemnly declared his innocence; and no one, we believe, has ever doubted it. We cannot conceive anything more appalling than the conduct of the king in signing the warrant for the death of this upright prelate, with no other view than the retention of his present popularity: for he had now no Shaftesbury and his party to fear, and he had completely humbled his foes.

The very next day Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower, and (such is mob popularity) he was hooted at as he passed thither by the rabble who so lately had adored him.* The witnesses against him were some of the very same men whom he had himself encouraged in the affair of the Irish Plot. The court party lent all the aid in their power to crush this formidable intriguer, and the witnesses swore most resolutely against him; but the grand-jury nevertheless ignored the bill. The hall rang with shouts of applause, and bonfires and the ringing of bells succeeded. It is true that the sheriffs, who were of the

* So at least says James II. Life, i., 688.

country party, had been careful in selecting the jury, but it is equally true that the evidence itself was utterly incredible.

The greater part of the tribe of informers had now veered round to the court. On the trial of one College, Turberville and Dugdale were arrayed against Oates and others of the cabal. College, named the Protestant Joiner, from his zeal and his trade, was charged with having gone armed to Oxford, in conjunction with others, with the design of seizing the person of the king. The London grand-jury ignored the bill: but that of Oxfordshire having found a true bill against him, he was taken to Oxford, tried, condemned, and executed on the 31st of August. It is almost needless to add that he was innocent.

The Prince of Orange came over to England this summer, and visited the king at Windsor on the 24th of July. His object was to induce his uncle to succour Holland and Flanders, and for that purpose to summon a parliament. He strongly, it is said, expressed his dislike of restrictions on the rights of the crown: but, with the king's permission, he undertook to confer on the subject with the popular leaders. What was the result of these conferences is not known. The prince was, as usual, invited to dine with the city: but the king, on being informed of it, summoned him down to Windsor, so that he was unable to take advantage of the invitation. After a short stay in England, he returned to the Hague on the 5th of August.*

During the last year there had been an outbreak of religious fanaticism in Scotland, which gave occasion for the exercise of the usual barbarities on the part of the government. Cargill and Cameron, two of the ministers who had escaped to the Continent after the affair of Bothwell Bridge, having returned, collected some of their followers, who, from the latter, have

* The prince told Burnet that the king said to him, "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent, that he could not hold it four years to an end."—Burnet, ii., 415, where see the note.

been named Cameronians. At Sanquhar, on the 22d of June, Cameron read, and then affixed to the market-cross, a declaration, stating that Charles Stuart had, by his perjury and tyranny, forfeited all claim to their allegiance. About a month after, they and sixty or seventy of their followers were surprised by three troops of dragoons at Aiadsmoss, in Kyle. Cameron and his brother fell, bravely fighting back to back; seven more were slain, and sixteen made prisoners, all of whom were of course executed. Cargill, who had escaped, soon after, at a conventicle in the Torwood, solemnly excommunicated their principal persecutors by name, the king himself included. The persecution was now redoubled, and both men and women were executed. Tyranny was met by enthusiasm; and when the Duke of York, on his return, offered their lives to the Cameronians if on the scaffold they would cry "God bless the king!" the very women refused to lose the crown of martyrdom by compliance.

After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, James obtained permission from his brother to hold one in Scotland. Its first act was to confirm all the laws in favour of the Protestant religion and against popery; and it next passed one asserting the unalterable right of succession to the crown. A test, to be taken by all persons, was then framed: the confession of faith of the first Reformers was adopted as the definition of the Protestant religion; and "a long inconsistent oath was prescribed, to adhere, according to this obsolete confession, to the Protestant faith; yet, by the recognition of supremacy, to conform to whatever religion the king might appoint; to preserve the former Presbyterian discipline, yet to attempt no alteration in the present Episcopal form of the church; to abjure the doctrines and renounce the right of resistance, but at the same time, as a religious duty, incumbent by the confession on good subjects, to repress the tyranny and resist the oppression of kings."*

* Laing, Hist. of Scotland.

No conscientious man of any party would take this oath in its literal sense. By dint, however, of explanations, the Episcopal clergy, with the exception of eighty honest men, who valued their souls more than their livings, were induced to subscribe this engagement. The Presbyterians mostly declined it; and the Duke of Hamilton resigned his office rather than take it. The Earl of Argyle subscribed it, with an explanation that he did not consider himself precluded from attempting any alteration "which he thought of any advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the Protestant religion and his loyalty." This was accepted at the time: but he was called on to qualify a second time, when his explanation was refused, and he was committed to the castle. A charge was preferred against him of treason, perjury, and *leasing-making* (*lying*); and, with the barefaced iniquity characteristic of the Scottish state trials in that century, a jury, of which the Marquis of Montrose was foreman, pronounced him guilty of treason and leasing-making. The king sent down directions that judgment should follow, but execution be stayed. Argyle, however, saw reason to think that the duke and his party were resolved on his death; and he contrived to effect his escape, disguised as a page, in the train of his daughter-in-law, Lady Sophia Lindsay. He made his way to London, where he remained concealed for some time, and then got over to Holland. Some members of the council had the fiendish barbarity to propose that Lady Sophia Lindsay should be publicly whipped through the streets of Edinburgh! The duke, who had some of the feelings of a gentleman, replied that "they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in *his* country."

Laing truly observes, that "there was nothing similar to the corruption of the peers and jurors of Argyle, except the venal evidence allotted in England to the vilest of mankind." The objects really sought were the ruin of that nobleman as the head of the Presbyterian party, and the division of his spoils among the duke's friends. The pretext employed was the ne-

cessity of wresting from him his hereditary jurisdictions; but these he had already offered to surrender. They were now, together with those of Monmouth and Hamilton, who would not take the test, parcelled out among the creatures of the court. Argyle's estates were given to his eldest son.

An affair of no slight importance in the royal estimation, the settling a pension on the Duchess of Portsmouth, caused the Duke of York to be invited to Newmarket early in the following year (1682). After that important matter had been arranged, and he had obtained permission to reside in England, he returned to Scotland, to settle the administration of that country. But the Gloucester frigate, on board of which he had embarked, struck on the Lemon-and-ore bank on the 6th of May, and was lost, with about two hundred persons. The duke, with some of his friends, escaped in the barge; and the generous sailors, though certain of their own death, gave a loud cheer when they saw him in safety.* He brought his family up to London, and resumed his residence at St. James's on the 25th.

Monmouth, on hearing of the return of the duke to England, left the Netherlands and came back also. In order to keep up and increase his popularity, he made a progress through a great part of the country, where his reception was most enthusiastic; but in the midst of his triumphs he was arrested by order of the court.

In the plan of despotism now matured, there were two important points to be attained: the one was to be able always to have jurics who, heedless of the evidence, would find a verdict for the crown; the other, in case it should be necessary to return to the use of parliaments, to possess the power of nominating a majority of the members. These objects were both to be compassed by obtaining the appointment of the officers of the corporations. It was resolved to begin with the city of London, whose zeal for lib-

* James gave money to their widows and children.

erty, it must be confessed, has always contained a sufficient alloy of turbulence and faction.

It had formerly been the custom for the lord-mayor to designate one of the sheriffs for the ensuing year, by drinking to him at the Bridge-house feast; and this choice was always confirmed by the livery. Still this was only a courtesy on their part: for, by the charter, the right lay in the citizens at large. The practice, however, had ceased; and, since 1641, both the sheriffs had been chosen by the common-hall. Now, however, at the king's desire, it was renewed; and Sir John Moore, the mayor, drank and sent the cup to Dudley North, an eminent Turkey merchant, and brother to the chief-justice of the common pleas. On the day of election, the Whig party proposed two citizens, named Papillon and Dubois, and demanded a poll. The lord-mayor, insisting on his right to name one, refused, and adjourned the court; but the sheriffs most irregularly continued it, and commenced a poll, for which they were sent to the Tower the next day. The contest was continued for some months, each party maintaining its claim. Though the popular candidates had immense majorities at the polls, the court nominees, North and Rich, were finally sworn in; and, at the next election for lord-mayor, the court succeeded in having one of its party placed in office, so that it now had both mayor and sheriffs, and consequently juries, at its devotion. As a proof at once of its power and its vengeful spirit, Pilkington, one of the late sheriffs, being charged with saying, when he heard that the duke was returning, "He has already burned the city, he is now coming to cut all our throats," was sentenced to pay a fine of £100,000; and Sir Patience Ward, a former lord-mayor, for having sworn that he did not hear Pilkington use these words, was sentenced to the pillory for perjury.

But a more deadly blow was soon after aimed at the city. A writ of inquiry, or *Quo warranto*, was issued against it, as having forfeited its charter by illegally imposing a toll, and by making scandalous re-

flections on the king in the petition against the prorogation in 1679. The case was argued in the court of King's Bench. The advocates for the city showed that a corporation never had been, and could not be, subject to forfeiture; that the acts with which the city was charged were both legal; but that, in any case, it was only the persons who did them that should be punished, and not the innocent corporation. The judges, however, were the mere tools of the crown;* and they decided, on the 12th of June, 1683, "that the franchise and liberty of the city of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." On a petition of the common council, the king consented to leave them their revenues and form of government, provided they would give him a *veto* on the appointment of their mayor, sheriffs, and other principal officers. The city was now bridled in perpetuity; and what had succeeded in London was tried all over the kingdom. *Quo warrantos* were issued in abundance; and, as there were few corporations which had not been guilty of some irregularities, most sought to make terms by voluntary surrenders of their charters.† They obtained new ones, making them more

* In allusion to the course pursued by Charles, in corrupting the courts of justice and converting them into instruments of oppression and tyranny, we find the following appropriate remarks: "Every other species of retaliation but this may perhaps be vindicated, or admit of some excuse. Let force revenge the violences committed by force; let blood stream for blood; let the pillage of one party repay the depredations of another; let the persecuted, in their turn, become persecutors, and the fagot mutually flame for the purgation of martyrs: these are but temporary evils, and may soon be forgotten; but let not the fountain of justice be poisoned in its source, and the laws, intended to protect mankind, become instruments of destruction. This is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation, famine and pestilence not excepted; and may be considered as the last stage of political degeneracy."—Russell's Modern Europe, ii., 233, Harpers' edition.—*Am. Ed.*

† Thus St. Ives had four constables and three sergeants-at-mace, when, by its charter, it should have had only three of the former and two of the latter. Oxford had five instead of four aldermen; its fair was held in the wrong place, and its town-clerk signed himself the king's clerk without leave. Both charters were attacked.

oligarchic, and placing them more under the power of the court. This course of laying the foundation of despotism went on through the remainder of this and a great part of the succeeding reign.

The court had soon an opportunity of proving the effects of the influence it had acquired, for another conspiracy was at this time brought to light.

Ever since the dissolution of the last parliament, the leaders of the popular party had been in the habit of holding consultations on the best modes of resisting the government, in case it should aim, as it was evidently doing, at despotic authority. In contemplation of the necessity of an ultimate appeal to force, they had arranged the plan of a simultaneous rising in London and in various parts of the kingdom: but this was little more than hypothetical, for Lord Essex and Lord Russell were men of too much prudence and virtue to have recourse to insurrection without an imperative necessity, and a prospect of success, also, nearly amounting to certainty. The impetuous Shaftesbury, however, maddened by disappointment, and fearful of the vengeance of the court, was urgent for immediate action, believing his party to be strong in the city, where he boasted that he had ten thousand "brisk boys," as he called them, ready to fly to arms on the motion of his finger. He had, of course, several subordinate agents, the principal of whom were Colonel Rumsey, a man who had served in the republican army, and afterward in Portugal; Ferguson, a Scottish independent minister: West, a lawyer; and Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff to Bethel: but these men had little or no communication with the other popular leaders. Finding his proposals rejected, Shaftesbury, in his rage and fear, even ventured to think of a rising in the city alone: but at length, seeing no hope of success, in the latter end of the year he retired to Holland, and died at the Hague, of gout in the stomach, on the 21st of January in the following year.

Delivered from the dangerous impetuosity of Shaftesbury, the friends of liberty resolved to proceed with deliberation and caution. To conduct their plans,

a council of six was formed, consisting of the Duke of Monmouth, lords Essex, Russell, and Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the great patriot. Howard was a man of no principle, but he was a bold talker, and had gained the confidence of Essex, at whose persuasion Russell (who, though he was his first-cousin, disliked him extremely) consented to admit him into their association. The Marquis of Winchester, Ford Lord Grey, and others, though not in the council, were in the secret.

It was proposed that, in case of a rising, it should extend also to Scotland, where the barbarous proceedings of the government were driving the people half frantic. An agreement was made with the Earl of Argyle, who was then in Holland, to supply him with £8000 to enable him to purchase arms, and return and raise his clansmen. Several of the Scottish nobility and gentry, having resolved to sell their estates and seek a refuge from persecution in the New World, had sent agents up to London to treat with the patentees of the new colony of Carolina. With these men the council entered into communication, and they readily engaged in the project. Such was the state of the conspiracy in the summer of 1683, when it was discovered: nothing had been done, nothing even determined on; all was mere speculation.

The discovery was made in the following manner. Rumsey, West, and the other satellites of Shaftesbury used to hold meetings of their own, in which there was frequent talk of "lopping the two sparks," as West expressed it, that is, killing the king and duke. West spoke of doing it as they were going to or from the playhouse, as then, he said, "they would die in their calling." There was one Rumbold, an old officer of Cromwell's army, who had married a maltster's widow, and thus become master of a house called the Rye, near Hoddesden in Herts, close by which the king used to pass on his way to Newmarket. He happened to say how easy it would be for a man to shoot the king at that place: West caught at the idea, and

hence the plot was named the Rye-house-plot. In this case, also, though there was really a conspiracy, nothing would seem to have been actually determined on, and things remained in this state till the month of June, when, on the 12th, the very day on which judgment was given against the city, one Josiah Keeling, a sinking merchant, who was one of the confederates, resolved to turn informer. He went to Legge, now Lord Dartmouth, who sent him to Secretary Jenkins; and, on the information which he gave, rewards were offered for nine of the conspirators: but they had been forewarned by Keeling's brother, and had concealed themselves. Two days after, West and Rumsey came in and surrendered; and, on their information, together with that of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, Russell and Sidney were arrested and sent to the Tower. Lord Grey was also arrested, but he contrived to escape from the messenger. The Duke of Monmouth likewise escaped: but Howard was taken, concealed in a chimney in his own house. To save his life, he discovered all, as he said, that he knew, and on his information Lord Essex and Hampden were arrested.

On the 13th of July Lord Russell was put on his trial. The moment he was arrested, he looked on his life as lost; not so much from an idea that anything could be proved against him, as from his knowledge of what witnesses were capable of swearing, and of the vengeful temper of the royal brothers. He had, therefore, turned his thoughts to another world, and passed his hours in reading the Scriptures. The Duke of Monmouth had sent to assure him that, if he would be of any service to him, he would come in and share fortunes with him: but he replied that it would be of no advantage to him to have his friends involved in his fate. Essex refused to save himself by flight, lest it might prejudice the cause of Lord Russell; and, on the very morning that his friend was put to his trial, he terminated his existence with his own hand. He was continually melancholy; and the circumstance that he had been the means of putting it into Lord

Howard's power to injure Lord Russell, weighed heavily on his spirits. The evening before he sent to assure the Earl of Bedford that he was more concerned for his son's condition than he, the earl, could be himself. His servant, on entering his room the next morning, found him lying with his throat cut. There is scarcely a doubt of his having done the deed himself, though attempts were afterward made to prove that he had been murdered. Lord Russell, the day before his death, described Essex as "the worthiest, the justest, the sincerest, and most concerned for the public of any man he ever knew."

Lord Russell was tried at the Old Bailey, before Pemberton, chief-justice of the common pleas, and a jury of citizens. His admirable wife, the glory of her sex,* suppressing all womanish fears and scruples, acted as his secretary on this occasion. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, Shepherd, and Lord Howard. The first deposed to a meeting at Shepherd's, at which Lord Russell was present, where there was a conversation about a rising at Taunton, and about seizing the guards at the Savoy and the Mews, in which the prisoner took a part. Shepherd deposed much to the same effect. Lord Howard was next examined: he stated the existence of the council of six, of which Lord Russell was a member, and their communication with Argyle and the Scots; and deposed to two meetings at which the prisoner was present, one being at Lord Russell's own house.

Lord Russell, in his defence, acknowledged that he had been at Shepherd's, but accidentally, he said, having gone thither for the purpose of tasting some wines. Lord Anglesea swore that Lord Howard said to the Earl of Bedford in his presence, "I know nothing against your son or anybody else of such a barbarous design, and therefore your lordship may be comforted in it." Mr. Howard and Dr. Burnet also proved that Howard had denied all knowledge of the plot. How-

* Lady Rachel Wriottesley, the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Southampton, so distinguished for his attachment to the royal family.

ard was re-examined; and he explained what Lord Anglesea had heard by saying it was his object at that time to outface the king for himself and his party. Pemberton treated the prisoner with much more moderation and decorum than was usual at that time, and his charge was such as might have produced an acquittal from an impartial jury: but the present one had been selected by North and Rich, and they, of course, found the prisoner guilty. On the following Saturday, sentence of death by hanging, quartering, etc., was passed on him. The king afterward commuted this sentence to decapitation, saying sarcastically (if Echard may be credited), "Lord Russell shall now find that I am possessed of that prerogative which, in the case of Lord Stafford, he thought proper to deny me."

Lord Russell was now placed in Newgate, where he had the constant attendance of Dean Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. Every effort was made to save his life. His father is said to have offered the king £100,000 for his pardon: but the reply was, "he would not purchase his own and his subject's blood at so easy a rate." Lord Dartmouth urged on the king the impolicy of provoking the resentment of so great and numerous a family as the Russells, and hinted that some regard was due to the daughter of Southampton and her children.* But neither mercy, magnanimity, nor gratitude had any place in the bosom of Charles; and he answered, "All that is true; but it is as true, that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine." Yielding to the entreaties of his wife and friends, Lord Russell consented to petition the king for mercy, and the Duke of York for his intercession. To the former he denied having any thought against his life, or any design to change the government; and he excused his opposition to the latter on the plea of principle. He

* Lord Halifax also made every effort to save him. "If others," said the Duchess of Portsmouth to Lord Montague, "had been as earnest as my Lord Halifax with the king, Lord Russell might have been saved."—Fox's MSS, in Mackintosh's Hist. of Revol. of 1688.

offered to live anywhere the king should appoint, and engage never to meddle in the affairs of England. Both petitions, however, were slighted.

The week which passed between the sentence and the death of this virtuous nobleman is a beautiful scene to contemplate. His own serene and cheerful piety, the zealous affection of his incomparable wife, and the sincere attachment of his friends, all combine to raise our estimate of the worth of our nature. He spoke to Burnet of his death as giving him less apprehension than the drawing of a tooth: it was only, he said, being gazed at by his friends and enemies, and a moment's pain. Lord Cavendish having sent to propose changing clothes with him, and remaining in the prison while he should make his escape, he smiled, and sent him his thanks, but said he could not be induced to make such an attempt. He dined and supped as cheerfully as ever, and talked of the affairs of Europe in his usual easy manner. As Saturday was the day appointed for his execution, he received the sacrament on Friday morning from Tillotson, and Burnet afterward preached two sermons before him. He said "he could not pretend to such high joys and longings as the preacher had spoken of, but an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of his mind." After dinner he saw and took leave of his children, and at supper he was so cheerful as to amaze Burnet. He said to his wife, "Stay and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together." A little before she went away, he took her by the hand and said, "This flesh you now feel, in a few hours must be cold." At ten o'clock she rose to depart: he kissed her several times, while she controlled her feelings not to add to his distress, and they parted in silence. When she was gone, "Now," said he, "the bitterness of death is past;" and he continued for a long time dilating on her many virtues. Observing that it rained hard, he said, "Such a rain tomorrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day."

At twelve he went to bed, desiring to be called at

four. He was asleep when his servant came, and fell asleep again while his things were preparing for him to dress. He prayed several times with Tillotson and Burnet, and also by himself. He next wound up his watch, which he intended to give to the latter; and then said, "I have done with time, now eternity comes." As he passed down he met Lord Cavendish, and took leave of him, but again turned back to urge on him the necessity of attending more to his religion. He rode in his own carriage to Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he was to die. Tillotson and Burnet observed that he was singing to himself: on their inquiry, he said it was the 119th Psalm, but he should sing better very soon. As they turned down Little Queen-street, he looked towards his own house, and a tear stood in his eye: he said, "I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now turn to this with greater." He expressed his wonder at seeing so great a crowd assembled. He addressed the sheriff briefly, and delivered him a written speech, prayed by himself, then laid his head on the block, and at the second stroke it was severed from his body.* The paper which he gave the sheriff, and which contained the vindication of his conduct, had been already sent to the printer's, and in less than an hour it was sold through the city, to the great annoyance of the court.

From the preceding narrative it is plain that Lord Russell was a man of the most amiable and honourable character, and sincerely attached to the religion and constitution of his country. His abilities, like those of most of his family, were only moderate: his fame he owes chiefly to his death, and perhaps no small part of it to the heroic conduct of his wife. His sentence was certainly hard, if not unjust: for it has been observed that the only overt act of treason that could be considered as proved against him was his assent to a rising at Taunton, and that only by a single witness. How much more might have been proved

* Russell, among the last things he said, expressed his conviction that his death would be of greater service to his country than his life possibly could be; and it doubtless so proved.—*Am. Ed.*

if Howard had been a willing witness, which it would seem he was not, or if the witnesses had been more closely cross-examined, is uncertain. At all events, had the king been either wise or humane, a fairer opportunity for clemency could not have presented itself.

On occasions like this, there will always be found parties ready to seek the favour of the dominant power by the sacrifice of truth, justice, and all that is valuable to man. The University of Oxford now took the lead in the career of adulation. The very day on which the blood of Russell was shed, it passed a decree, in which, assuming the truth of the plot to assassinate that sacred person who was the "breath of their nostrils, the anointed of the Lord," they proceeded, "to the honour of the holy and undivided Trinity," etc., to decree twenty-four propositions, taken from the works of Jesuits and Protestants alike, to be "false, seditious, and impious, and most of them heretical and blasphemous, and destructive to all government in church and state." Among these atrocious doctrines are the following: All civil authority is derived originally from the people: there is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects; and if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs: the sovereignty of England is in the three estates, king, lords, and commons; the king has but a co-ordinate power, and may be overruled by the other two. It will hardly be believed that, ere five years had passed, this same loyal university actually made an offer of its plate to aid in dethroning an anointed of the Lord! This should teach learned bodies to use more caution in their public proceedings, and to be sure that the language which they speak be that of truth and soberness.*

Essex and Russell were now removed, and the fate of Sidney was next to be decided. Sir George Jeffreys, infamous for brutality and subserviency, had

* Sir Walter Scott thus designates it (Somers's Tracts, viii., 420): "The following piece of adulation and servility was presented to King Charles II., and afterward burned by the hangman by order of parliament."

lately been made chief-justice of the King's Bench, and it was before him, on the 21st of November, that Sidney was tried. The only witness against him was Lord Howard: but two witnesses were required by the law, and the records of legal iniquity will scarcely furnish a parallel to the mode in which the deficiency was supplied. Among the prisoner's papers had been found a manuscript treatise on government, written some time before, and never published. It contained some of the doctrines lately condemned at Oxford, but which, even Hume says, were "such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace." This dumb evidence was pronounced by Jeffreys to be equivalent to two-and-twenty witnesses, and under his direction the jury found the prisoner guilty. When the sentence was passed on the 26th, Sidney exclaimed, "Then, oh God! oh God! I beseech thee to sanctify my sufferings, and impute not my blood to the country or the city; let no inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me, for righteousness' sake." "I pray God," cried Jeffreys, losing his temper, "to work in you a temper fit to go to the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My lord," replied Sidney, stretching forth his arm, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now."*

Sidney did not disdain to petition for mercy, but it was in the tone of one who only asked for justice, and Charles was not a man to be affected by an appeal of that nature. The execution took place on Tower Hill on the 7th of December. Sidney had neither friends nor ministers of religion with him.† When asked if he would not address the people, he replied that "he had made his peace with God, and had no-

* "My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time,
And makes as healthful music; it is not madness
That I have utter'd."—Hamlet, act iii., sc. 4.

† Independent ministers had visited him in prison.

thing to say to man." He gave the sheriff a written speech, which concluded with thanks to God that "he died for that *good old cause* in which he was engaged from his youth, and for which God had so often and so wonderfully declared himself." He made a short prayer, and laid down his head, which was taken off at one blow.

The name of Algernon Sidney is invested with a lustre derived from the iniquity of his sentence and the heroism of his death; but his character seems to us in reality not to be deserving of much eulogy. He was a determined republican,* was self-sufficient, arrogant, and impatient of contradiction. To set up his beloved republic, he cared little what mischief he produced, or whether the nation were inclined to it or not. He received money from the French king, the notorious enemy of liberty, and he abetted his designs on the Netherlands.† A man of delicate honour, too, would, we think, have abstained from plotting against the government of a prince who had pardoned and allowed him to return to his country.‡

* Here is the difficulty: Sidney was a *republican.* This is crime enough in the eyes of the advocates of kingly power to obliterate all his virtues. That this illustrious patriot was wholly free from faults, no one pretends. But to enumerate and give prominence to the infirmities of his temper, gratuitously to assume that he was regardless of the mischiefs he produced, and to name, with evident satisfaction, the only thing which, admitting its truth, casts a shadow on his memory, as our author does, without the slightest notice of his great qualities, surely bespeaks anything but that fairness and impartiality which should characterize the historian. But the fair fame of Sidney is proof against the attacks of his enemies; the principles of freedom he so nobly advocated are his enduring monument; and his name, with that of his illustrious fellow-martyr in the same glorious cause, will ever be held in grateful veneration by the friends of popular liberty.—*Am. Ed.*

† See Note to Appendix (M) this vol.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Very different was the conduct of Colonel Hutchinson. "Having been freely pardoned," says his wife, "by the present powers, he resolved not to do anything against the king, but thought himself obliged to sit still and wish his prosperity in all things that were not destructive to the interest of Christ and his members on earth; yet, as he could not wish well to any ill way, so he believed that God had set him aside, and that, therefore, he

The Duke of Monmouth had lately been reconciled to the king by means of Lord Halifax, who wished to employ him as a counterpoise to the Duke of York. As a condition of pardon, he was obliged to acknowledge the truth of the conspiracy. He was required to write a letter to that effect to the king, and, after a hard struggle with himself, he did so: but, ashamed of his weakness, he obtained the paper back from his father, and was, in consequence, forbidden the royal presence.

The court was now triumphant; the country party seemed annihilated; for the people in general, confounding the two plots, believed that they had conspired to murder the king. Loyal addresses, therefore, again poured in from all parts; and charters were everywhere surrendered. Jeffreys, who went the northern circuit this year, we are told by Roger North, "made them all, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him, and returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns." At the same time, the king was careful to avoid, as much as possible, the suspicion of an inclination to popery; and chiefly with this view he had given, in the summer of the last year, his niece, the Princess Anne, in marriage to Prince George, the brother of the King of Denmark, whose only merit was his being a Protestant.

The Duke of York, in defiance of the Test Act, was restored to his office of lord-high-admiral and to a seat in the council; and his brother's indolence threw the direction of affairs very much into his hands: but his violence and impatience gave much uneasiness to the king, who was overheard one day saying to the duke, "Brother, you may travel if you will; I am resolved to make myself easy for the rest of my life."* There appears, in fact, to have been a complete change of measures projected. Monmouth came over from the Netherlands, and had a secret interview with his father, and it was proposed to send the Duke of York

ought to mourn in silence and retiredness while he lay under this obligation."—Life, p. 378.

* Note on Burnet, ii., 464.

back to Scotland, under the pretext of holding a parliament in that kingdom. What the result might have been is not to be known, for an event soon occurred which altered all the existing relations.

The king, who was only in his fifty-fifth year, had naturally a robust constitution; and though he had somewhat impaired it by early excesses, he was now regular in his habits, and seemed likely to attain a good old age. On Sunday, however, the 1st of February, 1685, he felt rather unwell, and the next morning he fell down in a fit of apoplexy. Speedy remedies restored him, but he still languished, and on Wednesday his recovery was considered hopeless. From the first, the queen and the Duke of York had been most assiduous in their attendance on him; and the primate and some of the other prelates were also constantly about him. On Thursday, Ken, bishop of Bath, announced to him his danger, which he heard with an air of resignation. The prelate then read the office for the visitation of the sick, and the king having expressed his repentance in a general way, he also read the form of absolution. He wished to administer the sacrament, but the king said there was time enough; the elements were then brought and laid on a table in readiness, when the only reply the prelate could draw from him was, "I will think of it." The Duke of York then motioned the company to retire to the other end of the room, and in a whisper asked his brother if he should send for a Catholic priest: "For God's sake, brother, do," he replied, "and please to lose no time: but," he added, "will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?" The duke was not a man to fear danger on such an occasion. He went instantly out, and Father Huddleston being the only priest he could find, he brought him up the back stairs into the king's closet. All were then directed to withdraw, except the duke and the lords Bath and Feversham. The duke then brought in the priest, saying, "Sir, this worthy man once saved your body,*

* Huddleston had been chaplain at Moseley at the time of the king's escape after the battle of Worcester.

he now comes to save your soul." The king made his confession, chiefly bewailing his having so long deferred his conversion. He pronounced an Act of Contrition with great fervour, and continued making pious ejaculations, such as "Mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy!" till the host, which had been sent for, arrived. The priest, who had already given him extreme unction, then administered the eucharist, and withdrew by the way he came. The chamber door was opened, and the secret transaction soon transpired.

The king passed an uneasy night. When the queen sent to excuse her absence and to ask his pardon, "Alas! poor woman," he cried, "she beg my pardon! I beg hers, with all my heart. Take back that answer to her." He spoke in the kindest terms to his brother, wishing him a long and a prosperous reign. He had his children all brought to him, and gave them each his blessing. One of the courtly prelates then saying that the king, the Lord's anointed, was the common father of all his subjects, all present fell on their knees, and the dying monarch pronounced a blessing on them. He commended the duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth to his successor; and said to him, "Let not poor Nelly [Gwyn] starve." Before noon the next day, the 6th, he breathed his last.

In person Charles was tall, his complexion was swarthy, and his features were harsh and repulsive: but his manners were the most gay and affable that could be conceived. He had much wit, and he conversed and told stories with no little grace and humour. He hated pomp and parade, and found his chief delight in social intercourse. He had both good sense and sound judgment, though he did not always choose to exercise them. For his brothers, his sisters, his mistresses, and his children, he seems to have felt an affection, but only for them: for the selfishness of his character was such that he never attached himself to any friend. His ill qualities were numerous: he was a bad king and a bad man; careless of the national honour, hating liberty, insincere, mean, rapa-

cious, ungrateful, vindictive, and remorseless. Such was Charles II. The people, caught by his affability, and feeling the advantages of the peace which his base subserviency to France maintained, were partial to him. He was popular in his life, and his death was lamented.*

* The report afterward circulated by the Duchess of Portsmouth, that Charles had been poisoned by his brother, seems not to rest on any sufficient foundation. See note, Hallam's Constitutional History, ii., 632.

APPENDIX.

A, page 28.

GLAMORGAN'S COMMISSION.

THERE is no point on which the advocates of Charles are more straitened than this, of the commission to Glamorgan to treat with the Catholics in Ireland. At one period their policy was to deny it altogether; but the Inquiry of Dr. Birch having proved its truth beyond the possibility of doubt, the more prudent course of passing it over in perfect silence has been resorted to. This is the course pursued by Mr. D'Israeli, and he has thereby, in our judgment, forfeited all claim to historic honesty and impartiality. Dr. Lingard also has produced additional evidence against the king, and has, we think, put an end to all dispute on the subject. The following are a few of the particulars, which he prefaces (x., 408) by this just remark: "Nothing more clearly shows the readiness of Charles to engage in intrigue, and the subtleties and falsehood to which he could occasionally descend, than the history of Glamorgan's mission to Ireland."

By a commission dated April 1, 1644, Charles appointed him commander-in-chief of three armies, English, Irish, and foreign; authorized him to raise money on the royal wardships, customs, &c.; gave him patents of nobility, to be filled up with names at his discretion; promised the Princess Elizabeth to his son, with a portion of 300,000*l.*, and the title of Duke of Somerset, with the George and blue riband to himself.—Birch, 22.

According to Glamorgan, "the maintenance of the army of foreigners was to have come from the pope and such Catholic princes as he should have drawn into it, having engaged to afford and procure 30,000*l.* a month." To this end he was authorized to promise the Catholics the quiet enjoyment of their religion, free from the penalties imposed by statute.—Clar. Papers, ii., 201, 202.

In January, 1645, Glamorgan received a variety of letters and commissions from the king, all to the same effect; and, on the 20th of October, Charles wrote with his own hand to the pope and Cardinal Spada, requesting them to give credit to Glamorgan or his messenger, and pledging his royal word to fulfil whatever should be agreed to by him. In January, 1646, Charles, as we have seen (above, p. 27), disavowed Glamorgan to the parliament, and wrote in evasive terms to Ormond and the Irish council, and immediately after to Glamorgan himself, declaring that he was "every day confirmed more and more in the trust" he had in him, and assuring him of his constant friendship, "which," he adds, "considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite."

"If," says Lingard, "after the perusal of these documents, any doubt can remain of the authenticity of Glamorgan's commission, it must be done away by the following passage from Clarendon's correspondence with Secretary Nicholas. Speaking of his intended history, he says, 'I must tell you I care not how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appears to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence. And I fear there is very much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. Oh! Mr. Secretary, those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king, and look like the effect of God's anger towards us.'"—Clar. Papers, ii., 337.

B, page 68.

JUDGES OF KING CHARLES.*

Oliver Cromwell, Lt. General.
Com. Gen. *Henry Ireton.*
Lt. Gen. *Thomas Hammond.*
Thomas Lord Grey.
Phil. Lord Lisle.
Will. Lord Munson.
Sir *Hardresse Waller.*
— Henry Mildmay.
— *John Danvers.*
— *Thos. Maleverer.*
— *John Boucher.*
— James Harrington.
— William Brereton.
— Peter Wentworth.
— William Constable.
— *Greg. Norton.*
— *Peter Temple.*
— *Myles Lyvesey.*
Col. *Thomas Harrison.*
— *Edward Whalley.*
— *Thomas Pride.*
— *Isaac Ewer.*
— *Rich. Ingoldsby.*
— Rowland Wilson.
— *Henry Marten.*
— *Will. Purefoy.*
— Godfrey Bosville.
— *John Berkstead.*
— *Edmund Ludlow.*
— *John Hutchinson.*
Col. *Robert Tichburne.*
— *Owen Roe.*
— *Adrian Scroop.*
— *John Okey.*
— John Harrison.
— *John More.*
— Francis Lassels.
— Edm. Harvey.
— *John Ven.*
— *Antony Stapley.*
— *George Fleetwood.*
— James Temple.
— *Thos. Wayte.*
— Mat. Thomlinson.
— *Val. Walton.*
— *John Downes.*
— *Rob. Lilburne.*
— *Richard Deane.*
— *John Huson.*
— John Desborough.
Lieut. Col. *Will. Goffe.*
Alderman Isaac Pennington.
——— Thos. Atkins.
——— John Foulks.
——— Thomas Andrews.
Sergeant *John Bradshaw.*
——— Francis Thorp.
Cornelius Holland, Esq.
Miles Corbet, Esq.
Francis Allen, Esq.

* Those in italics signed the warrant for his execution.

Peregrine Pelham, Esq.
John Gourdon, Esq.
Thomas Challoner, Esq.
John Aldred, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
James Chaloner, Esq.
Dennis Bond, Esq.
Humph. Edwards, Esq.
Greg. Clement, Esq.
John Fray, Esq.
Thomas Wogan, Esq.
John Love, Esq.
Will. Cawley, Esq.
John Lisle, Esq.
John Corbet, Esq.
Thomas Blunt, Esq.
Thomas Boone, Esq.
John Browne, Esq.
Will. Say, Esq.
Thomas Scot, Esq.
John Blackiston, Esq.
Gilb. Millington, Esq.
Abraham Barrell, Esq.
Nich. Love, Esq.
Thomas Horton, Esq.
John Carew, Esq.
Vincent Potter, Esq.
Augustine Garland, Esq.
John Dixwell, Esq.
Simon Mayne, Esq.
Dan. Blagrave, Esq.
John Jones, Esq.
Wm. Heveningham, Esq.*

C, page 76.

LAST DAYS OF CHARLES I.

The question of where the king resided between the time of his sentence and that of his death, is one about which we think a person of ordinary judgment, who had read the contemporary authorities with any care, could have little doubt. Yet it has been the subject of dispute and even vituperation.

Clement Walker says, "the king lay at Whitehall Saturday and Sunday night, so near the place appointed for the separation of his soul and body that he *might* hear every stroke the workmen gave upon the scaffold, where they wrought all night." Hume adopts this statement, but says that the king *did* hear the strokes.

Now Herbert, who never quitted Charles, says, that, after his sentence, he was taken to Whitehall, "whence, in *two hours' space*, he was removed to St. James's." Macauley, Laing, Fox, Brodie, all exclaim against the partial historian, who preferred the unprincipled libeller (as all that party affect to esteem Walker) to the honest, simple-hearted Herbert, whose narrative Laing discovered that Hume had read, and even marked this very passage in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

Yet, after all, Walker's is the true account; only that, in his usual manner, he has embellished it a little. Charles *was* at Whitehall on Saturday and Sunday, and he was removed to St. James's on Monday, probably out of humanity, in order that he *might not* hear the strokes of the workmen; for, as we shall see, the place of his execution was not fixed on till that day.

"The king," says Rushworth, "was Saturday and Sunday at

* Of these, Whalley and Goffe, after the restoration of Charles II., fled to New-England, where they were screened and protected by the then provincial governments against the efforts made by the king's officers to arrest them.—*Am. Ed.*

Whitehall. Dr. Juxon sat up with him all Saturday night. Sunday he dined and supped in his bedchamber, and seemed very cheerful." "And the next day being Sunday, he was attended by the guard to St. James's, where the bishop preached before him." "This day (Monday) the king was removed to St. James's; this night he lay at St. James's." "Jan. 29 (Monday). Upon report made by the committee for considering the time and place of the executing of the judgment against the king. the said committee have resolved that the open street before Whitehall, over against the banqueting-house, is a fit place, and conceive it fit that the king be there executed to-morrow, the king having already notice thereof."

The accounts in Whitelock, Ludlow, and Lord Leicester's Journal, all agree with Rushworth. It would seem that historians sometimes consult their authorities very negligently: in fact, Mr. D'Israeli, who is the latest writer on this subject, rests alone on Leicester's Journal for the confutation of Herbert, in whose narrative he supposes the "two *hours*" to be a misprint for "two *days*." But there is no need of this hypothesis, for Herbert's memory seems to have been a very treacherous one. Thus, for instance, he makes the king to be nearly a month at St. James's before his trial, and to be brought thence to Whitehall on the 19th; whereas, according to Rushworth and Whitelock, he came on that day from Windsor to St. James's, and from there next day to Whitehall, whence he was conveyed to Sir Robert Cotton's house at Westminster, and thence into the hall.

Burnet (Own Times, i., 86) justly observes of Bishop Juxon, that he "did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the king's thoughts, so that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself that he went through so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any kind of affectation."

Ludlow's (i., 224) sarcastic account of Juxon's conduct, when summoned on the 27th to attend the king, provokes a smile. "He being altogether unprepared for such a work, broke out into these expressions: 'God save me! what a trick is this, that I should have no more warning, and have nothing ready!' But, recollecting himself a little, he put on his scarf and his other furniture and went to the king, where, having read the common-prayer and one of his old sermons, he administered the sacrament to him, not forgetting to use the words of the confession set down in the liturgy, inviting all those that truly repent to make their confession before the congregation then gathered together, though there was none present but the king and himself."

D, page 78.

MOTIVES OF THE KING'S JUDGES.

"As to Mr. Hutchinson," says his wife, "although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet here being called on to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of

several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that if, through any human frailty, he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, he would open his eyes, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right enlightened conscience. And finding no check but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, and unbiased persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king, although he did not then believe but it might one day come to be again disputed among men; yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth, and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies, and therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalize his favour afterward to him."

It is impossible to question the purity of this excellant man's motives; and he appears to have been so fully convinced of the rectitude of his course, that if we may credit Ludlow (ii., 334), he "exceeded most of the members of the high court of justice in zeal for putting the king to death." Of himself Ludlow thus speaks (i., 230):

"Being fully persuaded that an accomodation with the king was unsafe to the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it. The former, besides that it was obvious to all men, the king himself had proved, by the duplicity of his dealing with the parliament; which manifestly appeared in his own papers, taken at Nasehy and elsewhere. Of the latter I was convinced by the express words of God's law, 'That blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it.' Numbers xxxv., 33. And, therefore, I could not consent to the counsels of those who were contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation, and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all, when it was most evident that the war had been occasioned by the invasion of our rights and open breach of the laws and constitution on the king's part."

Thomas Scot, another of the king's judges, declared (Ludlow, ii., 369) "that he should desire no greater honour in this world than that the following inscription might be engraven on his tomb: 'Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart, late King of England.'" The private character of Scot was not, however, so pure as those of Hutchinson and Ludlow.

E, page 78.

THE ICON BASILIKE.

There can be no stronger proof of the influence of party spirit

than the fact of there being persons at all periods, since the date of its publication, who have believed the Icon Basiliké to be the genuine production of the king.

The real author, as we have stated in the text, was a clergyman named Gauden, a well-known pampbleteer at the time. It was sent to the king at Carisbrooke, through the Marquis of Hertford. Charles approved of and revised it; but it was not the revised copy that was printed. Milton, it appears from the Iconoclastes, had a vague suspicion of its genuineness; but it was not till after the Restoration that Gauden revealed the secret to Charles II., the Duke of York, and the Earls of Clarendon and Bristol. He gave them such proofs of the truth of what he asserted, that he obtained the see of Exeter. Not content with this, he claimed also that of Winchester; he wrote to Clarendon, threatening to publish the secret if he should be neglected; and he was, in consequence, promoted to the wealthy see of Worcester. Clarendon, in his letter on the subject, says: "And truly, when it ceases to be a secret, I know nobody will be glad of it but Mr. Milton. I have very often wished that I had never been trusted with it." The opinion of Clarendon, who could hardly be deceived, is therefore clear on the subject, and this is confirmed by the fact of his not having made the slightest allusion to the Icon Basiliké in his History.

In a work called "Who wrote Εικων Βασιλικη?" Dr. Wordsworth has of late reasserted the claim of the king; but few, we believe, have been convinced by his arguments. See Lingard, x., 421, and Hallam's note in the early editions of his Constitutional History.

F, page 79.

AUTHORITIES.

The Parliamentary History and Debates, the Journals of Parliament, and the State Trials, continue still to be general authorities. Whitelock, Ludlow, Mrs. Hutchinson, and Clarendon extend to the Restoration; and the narrative is continued by the latter in his Life till his fall in 1667. The Sidney and Hardwicke Papers furnish materials for a portion of this period. Thurloe's State Papers extend from 1643 to 1660. Milton's State Papers belong to the time of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, as do also the Diaries of Burton and Goddard. Echard's History ends with the accession of James II., Ralph's with that of William III., Kennet's with that of George I., and that of Oldmixon and Tindal's continuation of Rapin with the death of that monarch. Bishop Burnet's Own Times, after an introduction treating of the period from 1604 to 1660, extends thence to 1713. The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby end with the Revolution; the Diary of Evelyn reaches into the reign of Queen Anne; and that of Pepys belongs to the early part of the reign of Charles II. The works of Sir William Temple and Andrew Marvell also treat of some of the events of this reign. The Life of James II., compiled from

that monarch's own papers, ends, of course, with his death. Cunningham's History extends from the Revolution to George I. The History and the Collection of State Papers by Macpherson, and the Annals of Sir John Dalrymple, are chiefly interesting on account of the original documents (especially the letters of Barillon) which they contain. In the Appendix to Fox's historical fragment there is also a collection of that ambassador's despatches; and Sir James Mackintosh's fragment is enriched by the despatches of the papal nuncio D'Adda. The Diaries of the Earl of Clarendon and Narcissus Luttrel, and the narrative of Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, contain many particulars relating to the Revolution.

Harris's Life of King William, and Boyer's Annals of the reign of Queen Anne, are authorities for these reigns. The Commentaries of Lockhart reveal much of the Jacobite intrigues. Coxe's Lives of Marlborough, Walpole, and others, contain a great quantity of original letters. Smollet is a contemporary for the reign of George II.; and the political manœuvres of the last years of this monarch will be found in the Diary of Doddington, and the Memoirs of Horace Walpole and Lord Waldegrave.

The Annual Register was established in 1758, and all public events from that period are to be found in it, and in the various public journals.

Lives of distinguished men, statesmen, generals, admirals, and others, have of late appeared in great abundance. As they generally contain original letters and documents, they furnish materials for history.

Among the historical works which have lately appeared, the Histories of the War of the Succession, and of England from the Peace of Utrecht to that of Aix-la-Chapelle by Lord Mahon, are particularly deserving of attention, from the candid and impartial spirit in which they are written.

G, page 81.

COUNCIL OF STATE IN 1649.

Philip earl of Pembroke.		Maj. Gen. Philip Skippon.	
William earl of Salisbury.		Sir Arthur Haselrig,	Barts.
Basil earl of Denbigh.		Sir Gilbert Pickering,	Barts.
Edmund earl of Mulgrave.		Sir William Masham,	Barts.
William Lord Grey of Werke.		Sir William Armine,	Barts.
Philip viscount Lisle.		Sir William Constable,	Barts.
Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.		Sir Henry Mildmay,	Knights.
Bulstrode Whitelock,	keepers of the great seal.	Sir Henry Vane,	Knights.
John Lisle,	keepers of the great seal.	Sir John Danvers,	Knights.
Henry Rolle,	chief justices.	Sir James Harrington,	Knights.
Oliver St. John,	chief justices.	Henry Marten.	
John Wild, chief baron.		John Bradshaw.	
Thomas Lord Fairfax.		Valentine Wauton.	
Lt. Gen. Oliver Cromwell.		William Purefoy.	
		Robert Wallop.	

John Hutchinson.
Anthony Stapeley.
William Heveningham.
Dennis Bond.
Alexander Popham.
John Jones.
Ald. Rowland Wilson.
Ald. Isaac Pennington.
Edmund Ludlow.
Thomas Scot.
Cornelius Holland.
Luke Robinson.

H, page 81.

BRADSHAW.

Milton highly eulogizes the constancy, generosity, placability, and other virtues of the lord-president, and thus has transmitted his character as a model of perfection to posterity.

Yet some of his other contemporaries, statesmen and men of the world, do not seem to have estimated Sergeant Bradshaw so very highly.

Clarendon, for example, calls him (vi., 217, 218) "a lawyer of Gray's Inn not much known in Westminster Hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious and discontented persons. He was a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. . . . With great humility he accepted the office (of president), which he administered with all the pride, insolence, and superciliousness imaginable."

"Sommerhill," says Walker (p. 250), "a pleasant seat worth 1000*l.* a year, belonging to the Earl of St. Alban's, is given by the Junto to their bloodhound Bradshaw." In the margin he calls it "a sop for Cerberus."

"At the council of state," says Whitelock (March 10, 1648), "Sergeant Bradshaw took his place of lord-president of the council; but he seemed not much versed in such businesses, and spent much of their time by his own long speeches."

"It was said," says Lord Leicester (Journal, p. 127), "that Sergeant Bradshaw, who had been president of the council from the beginning, was much troubled at this vote [for no chairman of a committee continuing more than one month in the chair], by which he lost his lordship and came to be plain Sergeant Bradshaw, and that he endeavoured to bring the matter again into debate in the house upon the point of what was meant by a month."

The real truth seems to be, that there was nothing very remarkable in the character of Bradshaw. Previously to the trial of the king he was a man of very little importance as compared with Whitelock and some other lawyers; and even on that occasion there seems to have been no thought of making him president of the court, until it was found that Whitelock and Widdrington would take no part in the proceedings. It was chiefly to accident, therefore, that he was indebted for his future eminence.

I, page 81.

FAIRFAX.

The character of Fairfax was a strange compound of strength and weakness. In the field he was both brave and skilful; in council and in private life, too often the mere puppet of others. The king, in one of his letters, calls him the *brutish* (*i. e.*, stupid) general; and Walker adopted the phrase as appropriate. Indeed, Fairfax, in his own memoirs, makes the following humiliating confession:

"One thing more requires I should say something to it before I conclude: that is, concerning *papers* and *declarations* of the *army* that came out in my name and that of the Council of Officers.

"I say that, from the time they declared their usurped authority at Triplow Heath, I never gave my free consent to anything they did; but, being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name, in way of course, to all their papers, whether I consented or not; and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under the parliament's authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a general's power been broken and crumbled into a levelling faction."

The following is his own account of his resignation:

"All this I saw with grief and sorrow; and though I possessed the love of the army as much as ever, and was with great importunity solicited by that remaining parliament and the soldiers to continue my command, and though I might, so long as I acted their designs, have attained to what height of power and other advantages I pleased, yet, by the mercies and goodness of God, I did, so long as I continued in the army, oppose all those ways in their councils; and when I could do no more, I then declined their actions, though I did not resign my commission which I had from the parliament till the remaining part of it took it from me."

Farther, Fairfax declares that he did all in his power to prevent the trial of the king; yet it does not appear what efforts he made in his favour. He was present the first day the High Court of Justice sat, and that day only. Ludlow asserts that he declared himself as guilty of the death of the king as any. Herbert (p. 135) relates the following curious incident, which, notwithstanding that writer's well-known inaccuracy, there can be little doubt is perfectly true:

"Meantime (after the execution) they went into the long gallery, where, chancing to meet the general, he asked Mr. Herbert how the king did, which he thought strange. It seems thereby that the general knew not what had passed, being all that morning, as, indeed, at all other times, using his power and interest to have the execution deferred for some days, forbearing his coming among the officers, and fully resolved with his own regiment to prevent the execution, or have it deferred till he could make a party in the army to second his design; but being with the officers of the army then at prayers or discourse in Colonel Harrison's apartment (being a room at the hither end of that gallery looking

towards the privy-garden). His question being answered, the general seemed much surprised."

It is curious enough that King Charles, Fairfax, and Monk were all ruled by their wives.

K, page 118.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

We will first hear the panegyrists of this assembly:

"This parliament," says Ludlow, "had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, established the liberty of the people, reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant, maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion, recovered our reputation at sea, secured our trade, and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity that they were a disinterested and impartial parliament; who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not, in all that time, give away among themselves so much as their forces spent in three months; no, not so much as they spent in one, from the time that the parliament consisted but of one house, and the government was formed into a commonwealth."

"The parliament," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "had now, by the blessing of God, restored the commonwealth to such a happy, rich, and plentiful condition, as it was not so flourishing before the war; and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich and able to pay them. They were in a way of paying all the soldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten and brought to seek peace upon honourable terms to the English, and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burdens," &c.

Whitelock, who was at this time out of humour with Cromwell, eulogizes, in the following feeble terms, the defunct assembly whose acts he had so often condemned:

"Thus it pleased God that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, and actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their own servants; and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters—an example never to be forgotten and scarcely to be paralleled in any story; by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are, and how apt to fall when we think them highest. All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action."

Algernon Sidney, in his Discourses on Government (p. 222), says, "When Van Tromp set upon Blake in Folkstone Bay, the parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore, and not a man that had seen any other fight at sea than between a merchant-ship and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world. But such was the power, and wisdom, and integrity in those that sat at the helm, and their diligence in choosing men only for their merit was attended with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land-armies, and the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and had the kings of France and Scotland for our prisoners."

Roger Coke, in his Detection (vii., 30), thus expresses himself:

"Thus by their own mercenary servants, and not a sword drawn in their defence, fell the haughty and victorious Rump, whose mighty actions will scarcely find belief in future generations. And, to say the truth, they were a set of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour nor by importunity. You scarce ever heard of any revolting from them, no murmur or complaint of seamen or soldiers. Nor do I find that they ever pressed any in all their wars. And as they excelled in the management of civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised, in matters ecclesiastical, no such severities as either the covenanters or others before them did upon such as dissented from them. Nor were they less forward in reforming the abuses of the common law."

On the other hand, Cromwell thus spoke of them in a confidential discourse with Whitelock, who did not undertake to defend them:

"Their pride," said he, "and ambition, and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves and to continue their power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them—these things do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior or co-ordinate with them."

One might not expect to find Milton among the assailants of the parliament; yet he writes as follows in the commencement of the third book of his History of England:

"A parliament being called to address [redress] many things as it was thought, the people, with great courage and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in parliament such as they thought best affected to the public good, and

some, indeed, men of wisdom and integrity; the rest (to be sure the greater part), whom wealth, or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition, rather than merit, had commended to the same place.

"But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes that acted [actuated] their new magistracy were ended and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before, to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied; spite and favour determined all; hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field; everywhere wrong and oppression; foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained in secret or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, as their breeding was, fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter, as men could sooth and humour them best; so he who would give most, or, under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity, or escaped the punishments of his crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed and shared among themselves; they, in the mean while, who were ever faithfullest to this cause, and freely aided them in person or with their substance, when they durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved after of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, were tossed up and down, after miserable attendance from one committee to another, with petitions in their hands, yet either missed the obtaining of their suit, or though it were at length granted (mere shame and reason oftimes extorting from them at least a show of justice), yet, by their sequestrators and sub-committees abroad, men for the most part of insatiable hands and noted disloyalty, these orders were commonly disobeyed, which for certain durst not have been without secret compliance if not compact with some superiors able to bear them out. Thus were their friends confiscate in their enemies, while they forfeited their debtors to the state, as they called it, but indeed to the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office, yet were withal no less burdened in all extraordinary assessments and oppressions than those whom they took to be disaffected; nor were we happier creditors to what we called the state, than to them who were sequestered as the state's enemies.

"For that faith, which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable as anything holy, the 'public faith,' after infinite sums received, and all the wealth of the church, not better employed, but swallowed up into a private gulf, was not, ere long, ashamed to confess bankrupt. And now, besides the sweetness of bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own guiltiness, and the dreaded name of 'just account,' which the people had long called

for, discovered plainly that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those troubles and combustions in the land which openly they set to remedy, and would continually find such work as should keep them from being ever brought to that terrible stand of laying down their authority for lack of new business, or not drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the ruin of a whole nation."

L, page 192.

SUFFERINGS OF THE IRISH.

The miseries endured by this wretched people in their various efforts to shake off the dominion of England, were such as would move even the hardest heart to pity. The following accounts of their sufferings, on account of the rebellions of Desmond and Tirone in the reign of Elizabeth, and of that of 1641, are from the pens of eye-witnesses.

Spenser, in marking out the course which he would have adopted for the reduction of those whom he terms "stout and obstinate rebels," after the suppression of Desmond's rebellion, says,* "the end will, I assure me, be very short, and much sooner than can be in so great a trouble, as it seemeth, hoped for, although there should none of them fall by the sword nor be slain by the soldier; yet, thus being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad by this harsh restraint, they would quickly consume themselves and devour one another. The proof whereof I saw sufficiently exampled in these late wars of Munster; for, notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for a time, yet not able long to continue therewithal; that in short space there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet sure, in all the war, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine, which they themselves had wrought!"

Fynes Moryson, in his Itinerary (p. 271), thus speaks of the effects of Tirone's rebellion:

"Now, because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebells' corn, and using all means to famish them, let

* View, &c., in Ancient Irish Histories, vol. i., p. 165.

me, by two or three examples, show the miserable state to which the rebells were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian MacArt aforesaid, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above *ten* years old) all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed *twenty* days past, and having eaten all from the feet upward to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her sad entrails, in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the lord deputy's letters of carcasses scattered in many places, all dead of famine; and no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon (so as they besides fed not only on hawks, kites, and unsavoury birds of prey, but on horseflesh, and other things unfit for man's feeding), the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most historians that ever I did read in that kind), the ample relating whereof were an infinite task; yet will I not pass it over without adding some few instances. Captain Trevor, and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry, can witness that some old women of those parts used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed, and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by strength of her body; and Captain Trevor sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the children's sculls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts, can witness that, upon the making of peace and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a commen practice among the common sort of them (I mean such as were not swordsmen) to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground. These, and very many like lamentable effects, followed their rebellion; and, no doubt, the rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace followed Tirone's submission."

Of the calamitous effects of the insurrection of 1641, we have the following testimony of Colonel Lawrence, in his "Interest of Ireland in its Trade and Wealth stated," part ii., p. 86:

"About the years 1652 and 1653, the plague and famine had so swept away whole counties, that a man might travel *twenty* or *thirty* miles and not see a living creature. Our soldiers would tell stories of the places where they saw a smoke. It was rare to see

either smoke by day, or fire or candle by night; and when we did meet with two or three poor cabins, none but very aged men and women, and children (and these with the prophet might have complained, *We are become as a bottle in the smoke; our skin is black like an oven, because of the terrible famine*) were found in them. I have seen those miserable creatures plucking stinking carrion out of a ditch black and rotten, and have been credibly informed that they digged corpses out of the grave to eat. But the most tragical story I ever heard was from an officer commanding a party of horse, hunting for Tories in a dark night, who discovered a light, which they supposed to be a fire which the Tories usually make in those waste countries to dress their provisions and warm themselves; but, drawing near, they found it a ruined cabin, and besetting it round, some did alight and peep in at the window, where they saw a great fire of wood, and a company of miserable old women and children sitting round about it, and betwixt them and the fire a dead corpse lay broiling, which, as the fire roasted, they cut off collops and eat."

The sufferings in 1691–92 were certainly not to be compared with these, yet they were not inconsiderable. The effects of the rebellion of 1798 on the condition of the people were not great.

M, page 243.

VENALITY OF THE PARLIAMENT.

Of the venality of both parties in the English parliament, the following extracts from the despatches of the French ambassadors furnish, we think, sufficient proof.

Courtin writes, Feb. 14, 1677: "I received the bill of exchange for 11,000*l.* sterling on the October quarter. It came very *apropos* for the King of England wanted money to gain those who are accustomed to make a noise only in order to be the better bought."

April 1. "To my knowledge he has distributed all the mone he received from my hands to gain the votes he stood in need of

May 13. "It is even very important that your majesty shou send here the first payment of the subsidy. M. Bergick [t Spanish minister] and the emperor's envoy will have 250,000 vres to distribute in the lower house. They will do more w this than could be done on your majesty's part with two million

Dec. 14, 1679, Barillon writes, "Nothing did me so much vice with Lord Hollis as the offer I made him, on your majes part, of a box with your picture set with diamonds. He m great acknowledgments for this mark of your majesty's este but he has not accepted the present, and I have it still."

"If your majesty thinks I ought again to press Lord Holl to accept the box of diamonds, I may, by means of Lady Hollis, ke him accept it. I do not presume she will be so difficult as has been."*

* Hollis died soon after this, and the box was given to Jermyn Lo St. Alban's, who was not so scrupulous. Its value was 1500*l.*

"These four (Baber, Littleton, Powle, and Harbord) have touched what was promised them when the disbanding of the troops should be finished and the high treasurer removed from affairs."

"Mr. Sidney has been of great use to me on many occasions.... I gave him only what your majesty permitted me. He would willingly have had more, and if a new gratification was given him it would be easy to engage him entirely."

Dec. 5, 1680, Barillon writes, "I send your majesty in a memorial apart, the names of the members of parliament whom I have engaged in your interests. The foundation of all these engagements is, that the parliament shall not enter into the alliance with Spain, nor into those which may be proposed with the States-General, the emperor, and other princes of the empire, nor give any money to his Britannic majesty to support them. The greatest part of these connexions could not be made by myself; few were to be found who could directly treat with or have any commerce with me, by which they might have exposed their fortunes and their lives. I made use of Mr. Montague and his sister Mrs. Hervey, of Mr. Harbord, Algernon Sidney, and the Sieur Baber, from all of whom I had already received great help in the affair of the Earl of Danby."

The following accounts of money thus laid out are given by Courtin and Barillon:

Courtin, May 15, 1677.	Gs.
Lord Barker (Berkshire)	1000
Chevalier Herbert	600
Chevalier Min	600
Dr. Carey	500
Coleman	300
Green	200
Denzie	20
Barillon, Dec. 14, 1679.	
Duke of Buckingham	1000
Sidney	500
Bulstrode	400
Baber	500
Littleton	500
Powle	500
Harbord	500
The same, Dec. 5, 1680.	
Harbord	500
Hampden	500
Cl. Titus	500
Hermstrand (*i. e.*, Sir T. Armstrong)	500
Bennet (Shaftesbury's secretary)	300
Hodam (Hotham)	300
Hicdal	300
Garroway	300
Frankland	300
Compton	300
Harlie (Sir Edward Harley)	300
Sacheverel	300
Foley	300
Bide*	300
A. Sidney	500
Herbert	500
Baber	500
Hill	500
Boscawen	800

Lord John Russell, in his Life of Lord Russell (ch. x.), attempts to show the falsehood of this statement. He will have it that Barillon was cheating his master, or was himself cheated by his agents. Mr. Hallam, a better authority, believes that the money was distributed as Barillon states.†

* Barillon says of him, "very rich and in great credit."

† There is no pretence that either Russell or Hollis received money of the

French king; and although Hallam says that "the decided bias of his own mind is," that others did, and among them Algernon Sidney, still he does not, at least as it regards the latter, consider it in the nature of a bribe, but rather as a present or gratuity; since Sidney, if he took the money, did not receive it as the price of deserting his principles and betraying the cause of free government, which he continued to advocate as strenuously as ever. It so happened, indeed, that his views coincided with those of Louis as to the policy of establishing greater freedom in England; though, certainly, from very different motives. The aim of the latter was merely to curtail the power of the English king for his own selfish ends, while the former sincerely sought to benefit his country. Sidney, therefore, made no sacrifice of political principle. The frequency of receiving such presents in those times, and the different light in which they were then considered from what they would be now, have also been mentioned by way of extenuation; and it has likewise been suggested, that the popular leaders might have feared giving offence to Louis by refusing his largesses, and thus disaffect him from co-operating with them in opposing the despotic views of Charles. Still, with all that can be said, it is to be deeply regretted that there should be the slightest ground for a charge of this nature against such a man as Algernon Sidney.—*Am. Ed.*

END OF VOL. IV.